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SPEECHES

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SPEECHES BY THE EARL OF READING.

1921-23.

ADDRESS FROM THE BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION.

2nd April
1921.

The Right Honourable the Earl and Countess of Reading arrived in Bombay Harbour on the night of the 1st April but did not land till about 8 A.M. on the 2nd April.

In replying to an address of welcome from the Bombay Municipality immediately after landing, His Excellency said :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay.—Pray accept my very cordial thanks for the address of welcome you have just read, and for the warm-hearted greetings and good wishes of the Corporation and the citizens of Bombay. You have expressed their sentiments in such eloquent language that my earnest desire to contribute to the welfare and happiness of India and the Indian people would, if possible, be intensified. Doubtless this is the experience of every new Viceroy, for it would be presumptuous indeed to imagine that any of my predecessors on landing on these shores would be animated otherwise than by the best intentions and highest motives ; but I should not be human if at this first moment of finding myself in India I were not almost overwhelmed by the magnitude of the task I have undertaken and the vast responsibilities that will devolve upon me. It

Address from the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

is, therefore, especially gratifying when the heart looks around for some encouragement and support, to find your address of welcome. Evidently no pains have been spared to make me, almost a complete stranger, feel that you are particularly desirous of displaying the innate Eastern courtesy by extending a friendly hand and gracious smile to one who comes here charged with so high and important a mission. Your well-known loyalty to the King-Emperor would of itself assure an official welcome; but I think I detect something more delicate and more graceful in your address. I note especially your sympathetic reference to the ancient race to which I belong, and I observe with pleasure that you state that your pride in welcoming me is enhanced by this circumstance. It is my only connection with the East until the present moment and this leads me to wonder whether perhaps, by some fortunate almost indefinably subtle sub-consciousness, it may quicken and facilitate my understanding of the aims and aspirations, the trials and tribulations, the joys and sorrows of the Indian people, and assist me to catch the almost inarticulate cries and inaudible whispers of those multitudes who sometimes suffer most and yet find it difficult, if not impossible, to express their needs. As I listened, Mr. President, to your brief but succinct recital of the plans and activities of your municipality, I recognised that you have every reason to be proud of it and of its energy and capacity in striving to solve in its own way problems that confront us in England and throughout the civilised world. The provision of better housing accommodation is surely one of the best means of discharging the important duties and responsibilities that rest upon the shoulders of those entrusted with the municipal welfare of citizens. These efforts bear eloquent testimony to

Address from the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

the local patriotism and the public spirit of the municipality and its citizens. Those who, in the future, inhabit or visit this great and beautiful city will have cause gratefully to remember the activities of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, who, in spite of the unceasing calls upon his time, has devoted so much thought and energy to carrying through the great development scheme and has, for so excellent a purpose, taken advantage of the powers to raise the first provincial loan in the Presidency. I earnestly trust that the success which has hitherto attended the scheme will continue throughout its execution and after its completion, and that the results will be so beneficial that even the sceptics, if there are any, will stand convinced and will join in praise of all concerned.

Your proposed plans for increasing the supply of water and for improving the sanitation, are of great interest. What more important subjects can occupy the attention of a municipality than housing, water-supply, and drainage? I need not dilate upon their obvious value to the community, and for this reason I shall be prepared to give sympathetic consideration to such financial proposals as may require support and encouragement from me. I am looking forward to becoming more closely acquainted with your proposed operations, under the guidance and with the companionship of His Excellency the Governor, whom I am glad to claim as an old colleague in the House of Commons.

I thank you for the very kindly reference you make to the public service I have been able to render to my country. I am very grateful for the privilege of the opportunities that have been afforded to me in the past. When after the war I laid down my position as Special Ambassador to the United

Address from the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

States of America and returned to the Lord Chief Justiceship of England, I little thought that I should so soon voluntarily retire to accept the higher and more exalted office of Viceroy of India. I know that the task that awaits me is as you say "arduous indeed"—I was aware of it when I gave up my place of serene dignity to accept a place of perhaps greater dignity, but certainly of less serenity. But I shall set out, cheered and encouraged by your welcome, with hopefulness in my heart, and mainly because all my experience of human beings and human affairs has convinced me that justice and sympathy never fail to evoke responsive chords in the hearts of men of whatever race, creed or class. They are the two brightest gems in any diadem. Without them there is no lustre in the Crown, —with them there is a radiance that never fails to attract loyalty and affection. You draw attention to the close approximation of views expressed by that great Indian Dadabhai Naoroji, whom I had the honour to know, with those enunciated by me from my seat as Lord Chief Justice, when taking leave of bench and bar. It is true that as Viceroy I shall be privileged to practise justice in larger fields than in the courts of law. The justice now in my charge is not confined within statutes or law reports ; it is a justice that is unfettered and has regard to all conditions and circumstances, and should be pursued in close alliance with sympathy and understanding. Above all it must be regardless of distinctions of race, creed, or class. I trust that the British reputation for justice may never be impaired during my tenure of office, and am convinced that all who are associated in the government and administration of Indian affairs will strive their utmost to maintain this reputation at its highest standard.

Address from the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

As you observe, Mr. President, I arrive in India at a very momentous period of its political history. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, an old and tried friend of India, has only just left these shores after taking part in his own simple, dignified, affectionate, and touching way, as a Special Representative of the King-Emperor in the ceremonies of inauguration of the New Councils and Reforms. These are now in operation and will ever be associated with the name of His Excellency the Viceroy whose tenure of office is just expiring, and the present Secretary of State.

What the people of India will write on the pages of the new book which is opened by this era of political advancement must inevitably have a most important effect upon the future of India,—and yet, notwithstanding these great progressive reforms, I must regretfully admit your statement that there is discontent in India. I join with you, Mr. President, in the prayer that it may be my good fortune to allay it, but I must not at this moment discuss its causes or effects. India is too responsive and too generous to expect me to make pronouncements which could not be based upon my own individual observation and information. Any declaration of policy to-day would be, must be, founded upon the opinions of others, and could not be the result of my own deliberate judgment. I feel convinced that I shall best discharge my duty to the King-Emperor, and serve the interests of India if I take time to collect information, seek advice, and form conclusions,—meanwhile I must not utter an incautious word or take a hasty step. I have no doubt that India will understand and respect my reticence at this moment.

Let me express the grateful thanks of my wife for your welcome and good wishes for her health and happiness.

Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

Permit me to join her in these expressions and to add that the opportunity of helping to promote the welfare of the women and children of the country contributes notably to the attractions of her position here.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I pray that it may be my good fortune during my tenure of office, to achieve, with the loyal and whole-hearted co-operation of British and Indians, some lasting benefit for India, and that these next years may revive and enhance her economic prosperity, and contribute to her material and spiritual well being, to the end, that peace, good-will, and happiness may reign among her people.

3rd April ADDRESS FROM THE BOMBAY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.
1921.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an address of welcome from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce on the 3rd April. The following reply was delivered by His Excellency :—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.—On behalf of Her Excellency and myself let me express to you my warm thanks for this address of welcome which is especially gratifying as coming from your body.

You refer to the financial circumstances affecting the position of India and to such assistance as I was able to give when Ambassador in the United States of America in relation to the serious position which at the moment had seemed to threaten India. It is but a few weeks ago in London that I took the opportunity of speaking for the first time of these events. Nothing was ever said at the time for very obvious reasons and after the war, so far as I am aware, America has

Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

never publicly referred to the arrangements between our Governments. I will only say that nothing could possibly have exceeded the goodwill of the American administration and Congress when they determined to help India when we were all engaged in a great war and when America realised the vital importance that the financial position of India should be maintained and should not be impaired by insidious propaganda or by conditions for which perhaps the war itself was responsible. I am glad that I as British Ambassador was associated with America in that vast transaction. I can assure you that no period was more exciting during my stay in America than the five days in which we were trying to get the Congress to pass the necessary laws to meet the situation as you will understand without public discussion. It was a war emergency measure, and it is noteworthy that the press of America which at the time well understood the situation was so anxious to be of assistance that it never mentioned a matter which lent itself so well to publicity.

We watched with great anxiety the daily reports of the Metallic Reserve in India and calculated the possibilities of getting ships to India in time to relieve the situation.

Gentlemen, it is natural that you should refer to the present condition of trade in India. Although I cannot suggest for one moment that it is a consolation yet it is worthy of observation that this condition is not peculiar to India, but is also to be found in other countries. Of course this is not of much help to the merchants of India, but is a factor to be borne in mind when we strive to arrive at the causes. We must go further back and pierce deeper in examination than by the consideration of the happenings during the last 12 months or 24 months in relation to the rupee.

Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

Depreciated exchange is the natural consequence of the disturbance of the balance of trade. A fall in exchange in the value of the rupee of course plays a most important part in the affairs of the country. I am very interested to hear your observations which lay a specially peculiar stress upon the importance of Government allowing trade to find its own level and the merchants to find their own way through these various disturbances of trade which are so largely due to political causes and to the upheaval during and after the war and the consequent economic and industrial efforts, in themselves the causes of depreciated exchanges. I quite agree that Government control of trade can never be of avail except as a partial and temporary measure. It should be resorted to only in time of great emergency such as war or grave internal distress to take two of the most familiar instances. This is an opinion held by merchants and traders generally. But it is not desirable to be dogmatic on this subject. There may possibly be ways in which Government can be of some assistance. I guard myself at this moment from endorsing to the full the observation that Government control can be of no use, although I agree with the general trend of the observations you make.

You further refer to the representations made by your Chamber to the Railway Committee which is now sitting. Obviously I cannot discuss in detail a matter which is *sub-judice*. But I can certainly assure you that as far as my Government is concerned we shall not fail to consider your views most carefully, and I will add, also the representations which you have made in the address. It is always well to remember that transport plays a very important part in trade.

Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

I am not sure that it is always fully recognised that transport difficulties in the countries that purchase the goods you export contribute to the serious and even chaotic condition of foreign exchanges. I only make these observations for the purpose of assuring you that as far as I am concerned I am quite alive to the importance of developing transport in India for the purposes of the economic and industrial prosperity of India. I shall never underrate the effect of trade prosperity upon the welfare and happiness of the vast multitudes of the people. Very naturally at this important period you refer to the recent Progressive Reforms. They are an opportunity for the people of the country through their representatives of expressing their views and it is a satisfaction to one to hear as it must be to all those in favour of representative institutions, how well in a very short space of time these new Councils and generally speaking new institutions have progressed.

You may count upon my Government keeping a vigilant eye upon the proposals that emanated from the Brussels Conference and otherwise in relation to foreign credits enabling purchases to be made where immediate payment is impossible or ordinary commercial credit is too speculative.

Gentlemen, I am glad that I have had this opportunity of meeting you and receiving this address. A body such as yours can help very markedly towards contentment and happiness in India. I know that the King-Emperor and the British Empire, as well as the Government of India, can look to you and rely upon your loyalty and assistance in striving to co-operate with all who are working for the benefit and prosperity of India. In this firm belief I take leave of you to-day with grateful recollections of your welcome to me.

Address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Bombay.

3rd April ADDRESS FROM THE INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER AND
1921. BUREAU, BOMBAY.

In replying to an address of welcome from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau at Bombay on the 3rd April His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.—Permit me to thank you very heartily on behalf of Her Excellency, as well as myself, for the cordial words of welcome you have been good enough to address to us and which we very much appreciate. It is encouraging on arrival to receive members of your Chamber who present a most carefully compiled general statement of political and economic grievances according to your views. Nevertheless you extend to me a hearty welcome. It is a satisfaction to find your views stated in plain and explicit terms in a document. I imagine that your object is to bring the various points to my notice. I should think you are far too shrewd to expect a reasoned answer to these political arguments at this moment. I have somewhere at the back of my mind a notion that if I did attempt it you would go away a little disappointed in me and say to each other : “well we did not think that His Excellency would have discussed some of the matters mentioned by us to-day.” Nevertheless I thank you for having stated your views so clearly ; and if I do not refer to each one of them in my few observations you will I am sure acquit me of any intentional discourtesy. But you will understand, as I stated publicly yesterday morning, I do not think it right that I should now express views upon political matters confronting the Government over which I preside, before I have had the proper opportunities of making myself personally acquainted with the situation. In other

Address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Bombay.

words, and speaking perhaps with a recollection of my judicial position I must hear all sides before I come to a decision. You would think very little of one who proceeded to pronounce a view possibly framed in language to please you, but which nevertheless was not based upon his own judgment formed upon information and advice and knowledge that he had obtained.

There are however two or three main subjects to which I think I may refer a little more in detail. You tell me that I arrive at a time when this country is passing through a critical period both politically and commercially. I have said enough, I hope, as regards the general political situation to show you that, although I shall consider very carefully every word that you say, I do not propose to deal with all the various matters which you have just stated.

You, however, refer to commercial grievances with which you are more directly and intimately concerned. I do not mean that you are not affected by the political situation, but being a Merchants' Chamber you are specially charged with the interest of the Indian merchants.

Will you forgive me for saying that you do not seem to me to attribute sufficient importance, as I understand the situation, to the various causes of exchange troubles and depreciated currency but are, not unnaturally, inclined to regard the problems as if they affected India alone and as if the causes of the serious dislocation of finance and trade and generally the economic situation were to be found in India alone—whereas in truth these same problems are affecting the whole world's prosperity. If you seek the remedy you must try to arrive at all the causes, and then you must not leave out of account the great world dislocation which is truly at the root of all the

Address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Bombay.

trade trouble with which we are confronted. Of course, India has its own particular problems like every other country, but generally speaking, you cannot have vast countries engaged in the production of articles which are the least reproductive without the whole world's wealth and consequently its prosperity being gravely affected. During the war, as you are aware, trade and industry were diverted from ordinary channels and manufactures, instead of making articles for export to various countries, were turned into channels, essential during the war, but which nevertheless mostly ended in smoke and flame and created no wealth, but caused loss of the nation's surplus wealth and of the means of exchange of one country's product for that of another. These are world factors which one must not leave out of account.

You go on to deal with the difficulties which have arisen and you refer to the depression which has actually occurred in India's foreign trade owing, as you say, to the disorganisation of international exchange and the diminution in the purchasing power of India's customers. Of course, you understand—nobody better—that India's trade depends upon world conditions and that until these have become more normal, as one hopes they speedily will, it is natural that customers for articles produced will not be able to resume their purchases on the former scale. But I think we should all remember that India is especially fortunate in that her trade in the main is in necessities and not in luxuries, so that as soon as the world's purchasing power begins to be restored, directly you get the equilibrium a little more normal, the products of India must be taken by the various countries as they are able to finance them. To you who are engaged daily in trade it is but a truism to say that if you export luxuries you must wait longer

Address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Bombay.

for a restoration of trade than when your trade is in those exports which people must purchase. I refer to these considerations not because they are an answer to your difficulties; they are not, but because I suggest that you should not be unduly pessimistic. I am far from attempting to minimise the importance and seriousness of the situation but we must not be cast down by difficulties. It tends to encouragement and to the permanence of credit if we remember these opportunities for India's restoration to the position it occupied until quite recently in relation both to currency and balance of trade.

Generally speaking, I agree, and in fact merchants who understand their business all over the world have come to the same conclusion, that trade will find its own salvation as time progresses; but I want you to bear in mind that I am the last person, with my experience during the war, to attribute little importance to depreciated exchange problems. On the contrary, I know they are very important indeed at present.

Yet again, we must see root causes if we want to find the true remedies. A fall in exchange is in truth only a manifestation of a primary trouble. It is a symptom of the dislocation of the world's trade and which applied to India is a mirror of the changed conditions of the balance of trade during recent times, attributable to the world causes to which I have referred as also to special causes affecting India. Nobody knows better than a body of gentlemen like yourselves that all nations are dependent on each other for trade. It is not only one nation that is affected by world upheaval but the whole world. But here again I am fully sensible of the importance of the observations that you make about the policy of the Government with

Address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Bombay.

regard to Rupee exchange and also to the sale of Reverse Councils. I do not want to discuss them at this moment for the reasons that I have given; I know that they have given rise to much discussion and controversy. I will only say that when you do consider the reasons of the fall in your exchange you must not attribute it entirely either to the one or the other condition, but must bear in mind the enormous change in the world's position. You refer naturally to the war in which India behaved with such deep and devoted loyalty to the King-Emperor and to the cause for which we were fighting. Nothing was more splendid and I trust that nothing that ever happens will make us—British and Indians together—regret that we struggled for great and high ideals which India took to her heart equally with ourselves. Whilst it is true that there have been disappointments after the war I am afraid these are inevitable. People cannot always live even in a spiritual country like India at the extreme height of noblest ideals since we are only human beings; but that we together, British and Indians, reached those altitudes should always be a bond between us. May I add one further word based upon much observation that notwithstanding the disappointment, at this moment I am convinced that as a result of the struggle for higher ideals the world will be the better, although it may not be apparent at this particular moment. There is disappointment aroused by these exchange and currency questions that have supervened after the war. I do not suggest that it is much comfort or consolation yet even here it is always well to remember that the chaotic condition of exchange in other countries is infinitely worse than it is in India. I am not disposed to be unhopeful in this matter.

Address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Bombay.

I have noted carefully every word you said about the present condition of affairs caused by the large import trade by India and the vast purchases based apparently upon the view that the rupee would be kept stabilised at the higher rate. I am aware of that position.

Observations have been made as I have noticed about the commercial morality of the merchants. Commercial morality affects credit : credit is a very tender, delicate and sensitive plant and if credit is once affected it takes long to restore it. I do not suppose for a moment that there is ground for any suggestion of lack of commercial morality. Of course, a difficult situation has been created ; I won't go back to the causes. I have observed in some quarters suggestions that this Government over which I preside should intervene. Without pronouncing any final word, for I have not yet had any opportunity of meeting the members of my Council or of discussing the situation with Mr. Hailey, the Finance Member, I will tell you my own present view. Difficulties have arisen between merchants, vendors and purchasers. In the ordinary course these are matters that must be solved between them and do not seem to require that Government should intervene. This is my personal impression at this moment. All I will now say is that I trust that means will be found, as they are often between persons who are left to regulate their own trade position between themselves to alleviate the present strained situation, so that it will gradually tend to disappear, and that you will be restored to the conditions which existed before the present crisis.

And now let me thank you very much for your welcome. May I add that I was very much impressed yesterday arriving as a stranger in this beautiful city amongst vast numbers of

Deputation from the All-India Vakils' Conference at Delhi.

people of whom perhaps I might claim to know at most three or four individuals. This welcome was one which went to my heart. I do not take it as a personal compliment. I believe it was intended as an encouragement to me in coming here to meet what is undoubtedly a most difficult situation to believe that the people have not set their hearts against the new Viceroy but rather that they gladly welcomed a Viceroy who wished to be in sympathy with them. It is from this that I take some comfort to myself. It leads me to study the situation with hopefulness which I trust I shall carry to the end of my responsibilities. If only Indians throughout India and the British with myself all work in union, in the closest co-operation for the development of India's resources for India's prosperity, there can be no doubt that India will become prosperous and happy.

6th April DEPUTATION FROM THE ALL-INDIA VAKILS' CONFERENCE
1921. . AT DELHI.

Their Excellencies and party arrived in Delhi on the 5th April. On the morning of the 6th His Excellency the Viceroy received a deputation from the All-India Vakils' Conference, and in replying to their address of welcome said :—

He could scarcely tell them what a great pleasure it was to receive the deputation from lawyers. It was a new departure for a deputation of lawyers to welcome a new Viceroy. Hitherto no lawyer had been appointed to this exalted post and he took it that the welcome was intended as a tribute from lawyers to a lawyer. They walked the same path and followed the same profession and they had the same faith in administration of justice. That created a bond between

Address of Congratulation from the Punjab Chiefs' Association, Lahore.

them, which made him feel that he was among friends and not a stranger among strangers. It was a great profession to which they belonged. He had heard with admiration the work done in India by lawyers. He was not sure whether all of them (members of the deputation) had reached the burden of years as he had, but he had no hesitation in saying that practice for many years—practically the whole of his adult life he had spent at the Bar—had not embittered his outlook of life. He didn't believe that lawyers only saw the bad side of life. On the contrary it afforded them immense advantages in gaining knowledge of human affairs. His profession had tended to make him more patient and more sympathetic. He was hopeful at twenty and even more hopeful at sixty. In bidding the deputation good-bye His Excellency said that in the arduous task before him he would always be strengthened with assurance of their goodwill for his success. He appreciated their anxiety for the success of his administration in India for the reputation of their profession was involved in it. He was deeply indebted to them for their goodwill.

ADDRESS OF CONGRATULATION FROM THE PUNJAB CHIEFS'
ASSOCIATION, LAHORE.

15th April
1921.

His Excellency the Viceroy paid a brief visit to Lahore in April 1921 and received an Address of Congratulation from the Punjab Chiefs' Association there.

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the Members of the Punjab Chiefs' Association, crave permission to offer our cordial congratulations to Your Excellency on the high dignity conferred on Your Lordship by His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor by your appointment as his Viceroy in this great country. We next offer our heartfelt thanks to Your Excellency for accepting our humble hospitality this evening. We are sensible of the great inconvenience inseparable from a journey

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Address of Congratulation from the Punjab Chiefs' Association, Lahore.

at this time of the year ; and the disregard of all personal comfort shown by Your Excellency is a proof, if proof were needed, of the interest Your Lordship feels for the welfare of the people of this Province.

Your Lordship is aware that this Association came into existence in 1909 at the call of imperative necessity. The inexorable spirit of the age with compelling logic taught us to organise our class into a solid body. There were numerous obstacles in our way, but faith in the utility of our efforts and dogged perseverance triumphs in this world and we now rejoice in the achievement of our aim. Our Association possesses more than 160 members belonging to the ancient families of the Punjab.

We are proud to say that the spirit bequeathed to us by our forefathers who adorn the pages of Indian History still inspires us with selfless devotion to the supreme interests of the people of this great country, and not wishing to remain parochial in our patriotism in these times of world alliances we found opportunities during the great war to manifest that devotion to the integrity and honour of the British Empire, which ultimately helped to gain a signal victory over German militarism. Sense of modesty does not permit our giving full details of services rendered by the members of this Association during the Great War, but the records in the Punjab Government offices are eloquent on this point. A new chapter has been opened in the History of India by the inauguration of the Reforms and had not some unforeseen events supervened, India would to-day have rejoiced in the enjoyment of these new liberties and privileges. We deeply appreciate the liberality underlying these Reforms and we hope in the near future that our Association will have the right of sending its own representatives to the Councils, a concession which has been already wisely conceded to the British Indian Association of Oudh.

We feel that the people of the Punjab who have experienced strange vicissitudes during recent years will appreciate the honour of a visit which Your Excellency has very wisely paid to their province so soon after Your Lordship's assumption of your exalted office. We admire the courage which Your Excellency has displayed in accepting the responsibilities of this high dignity, particularly in these days when the spirit of unrest pervades the whole of India, but knowing the supreme qualities of head and heart exhibited by your gifted people during the passage of historical

Address of Congratulation from the Punjab Chiefs' Association, Lahore.

times we rely confidently on Your Lordship's reputed sagacity to so control the situation in this country as to save the Empire from dangers which less skilful hands might not have been able to avert. We do not wish to minimise the dangers of the present situation in the country. Peace, we declare, is essential for the attainment of the promised *Swaraj* and therefore all wise men will range themselves on the side of the forces of law and order. We feel convinced that co-operation with Your Lordship's Government in pursuance of the high ideal set before us by no less a person than His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor will lead us to the promised land. We, therefore, beg to assure Your Lordship that in any matter in which the best interest of this great country is concerned our cordial support will be ungrudgingly forthcoming.

We cannot refrain from saying that the forbearance and mercy shown to people for serious political and other offences by His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan our Governor in the spirit of the amnesty graciously granted by His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor has won the hearts of the people of this Province. The deep affection and esteem in which he was held by the Punjabis were no secret even before his elevation to this high office, but his justice tempered with mercy even in trying circumstances have helped him to keep his place in the hearts of us all.

We are also beholden to His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan for appointing the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh, Majithia, as the Indian Member of the first Reformed Executive Council of the Province. The Association deems it a great honour that its distinguished President should have been considered worthy of occupying this high position.

It is a great disappointment to us that we are unable to offer our respectful welcome to Her Excellency Lady Reading in this historic Garden to-day but we venture to hope that we shall be afforded this privilege on some future occasion at a better season of the year.

In conclusion, we pray that Your Lordship's efforts to strengthen confidence in the high principles and sense of justice of the British people will be crowned with success so that India may again experience the joys of contentment and peaceful evolution.

Address of Congratulation from the Punjab Chiefs' Association, Lahore.

The Viceroy acknowledged the address in the following terms :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Punjab Chiefs' Association.—It was a graceful thought of your Association to proffer your hospitality to-day in these beautiful and famed Gardens and to present me with this address of congratulation. I thank you most cordially and assure you that I fully appreciate your manifestations of goodwill and the generosity of your observations with regard to myself. I am glad to be here in this historic city. I wish it had been possible for me to make a longer stay and to make closer acquaintance with the Punjab. But I have laborious days before me and I preferred at this moment to pay an immediate visit, though brief, to a future visit which should be longer. But this visit will I hope not prevent me visiting you again and for a more extended period.

It is an advantage that I have thus early become acquainted with some of your leading citizens and with also the members of your Association and, above all, it has given me the opportunity of conference and discussion with His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan, to whom you refer in terms of esteem and affection which must be very gratifying to him and must, I am sure, encourage him in the performance of his high, responsible and even anxious duties as Governor of this Province. May I add that I have already learnt in my brief stay that this affection is equally felt for his gracious lady—Lady Maclagan.

You, Mr. President, very naturally refer to the services rendered by the members of your Association during the Great War. It would be impossible for me to have been present to-day without recalling the loyalty and devotion of the Punjab to the King-Emperor and the British Empire during the Great

Address of Congratulation from the Punjab Chiefs' Association, Lahore.

War. Their historic courage and gallantry were again manifested whenever the opportunity arose and you may depend upon it that their fine services will never be forgotten by those to whom they were rendered. These services are an additional reason, if any were needed, for the solicitude of the King-Emperor for the welfare of the Punjab and of his deep interest in it.

The object of my visit at this early period was that I might have the advantage of considering with His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan the difficulties that have arisen in consequence of the disputes relating to the shrines or *gurdwaras*. I have had the benefit of seeing the members of your Executive Council and the Ministers and leading members of the various shades of thought, and I cannot but feel confident that with the guidance of His Excellency a solution will be found which will set at rest these serious controversies, and will lead to decisions by the peaceful means of fair and equitable adjustment.

Standing here in the Capital City of the Punjab I cannot take leave of you without some reference to the events at Amritsar. It is not the moment for a political address, but yet I seem to hear the simple and moving words of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught as he spoke them at the inauguration of your Councils, when he, the old and tried friend of India and the devoted servant of the Crown throughout his life, made that ever memorable appeal to let bygones be bygones, to forgive where forgiveness was needed, to forget the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past and to unite in striving for to realisation and the promise of the future. The words are still in my ears and I see them written before me. I have

Address of Congratulation from the Punjab Chiefs' Association, Lahore.

taken occasion to refer to them many times. I shall not attempt to express these views in other language, for indeed I could not reach the simple and touching eloquence of the Duke on that occasion. Ever since I was destined for the honour of the Viceroyalty the shadow of Amritsar (to use the Duke's metaphor) has pursued me. I have read all that has happened in your Legislative Assembly in the debate relating to Amritsar, when Sir William Vincent speaking on behalf of the Government of India expressed views which will well repay perusal and study. In particular I noticed that he referred to a grievance which had been brought before him on various occasions, namely, that the grants of money to the Indians who suffered by the events at Jallianwala Bagh and elsewhere in the Punjab were inadequate and were disproportionate to those granted to the British sufferers. Sir William said in this debate that the Government of India were prepared to recommend to the Government of the Punjab that more generous terms should be granted to the Indian sufferers and expressed himself in language which left no doubt as to the views of the Government of India upon this subject. The recommendation was duly made and, it is scarcely necessary to say, was immediately accepted by His Excellency the Governor, who is losing no time in taking the practical steps necessary to give effect to this policy. In a conversation with him this morning relating to this matter he informed me that he was just about to nominate a committee which would be charged with the duty of providing that the compensation payable to the Indian sufferers should be more generous and that the disproportion in the scale of payments to the Indian as compared with the British should be removed by adequate grants. Thus I trust the grievance will

Address from the Simla Municipality.

be removed and the words of the Duke of Connaught will re-echo throughout the Punjab and India. Can we not now do our utmost to banish suspicion, to cease imputing evil motives, to believe again in the sympathetic justice of the Government, to concentrate in united effort to reach by peaceful and constitutional means the end which is promised under your new Reforms and which indeed is already in course of fulfilment. Let us, you Indians in your hundreds of millions, and we British—in our small numbers, join hands and determine to work together for the realisation of this great aim and ideal.

ADDRESS FROM THE SIMLA MUNICIPALITY.

7th May
1921.

His Excellency the Viceroy accompanied by Her Excellency the Countess of Reading and Staff arrived at Simla on the 18th April 1921. His Excellency the Viceroy received an address of welcome from the Members of the Simla Municipality on the 7th May 1921.

May it please Your Excellency,—We the President and members of the Simla Municipality desire on behalf of the citizens of Simla to offer you our respectful and sincere greetings and congratulations on your appointment to the high office of Viceroy and Governor-General of India to which you have been called by the Command of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor.

2. We tender Your Excellency and Lady Reading a warm welcome to the Summer Capital of India.

3. To solve the problems of India in the future will require no less ability and statesmanship than in the past, but we are confident that your term of office will add another and that the most distinguished laurel to the crown of success that has marked your long and illustrious service to our King and country.

4. As one of the most eloquent of Your Excellency's predecessors has stated "it is in order that the Viceroy may have time to think, time to

Address from the Simla Municipality.

enquire, time to mature his policy that he comes up to Simla. Simla is in fact the workshop in which during the summer months are fashioned the materials of the fabric of each Viceroy's Indian Administration", and for nearly a hundred years successive Viceroys have come to Simla to think, to plan and to work.

5. Barely a hundred years ago, Simla was a dense forest and the bears and the leopards roamed where now stands a busy town. To-day the summer population probably exceeds 50 thousand persons drawn from every part of India, a very cosmopolis in which are heard all tongues from Tibet to Tuticorin. In the plains this would not be a great population, but in the hills where often even a small village can scarcely find sufficient room, it presents special problems. In a town extended along the hill tops it is not easy to carry out the duties of a public body, the making of roads, lighting, sanitation and above all water-supply. The sources of water-supply are naturally found in the valleys, not on the hill tops, and in the valley north of Simla is a Pumping Installation with the highest single stage lift in the world. Moreover, the task of local administration is rendered difficult by the great variation in population at different seasons of the year. The most urgent of our present needs is the provision of a more ample supply of water for household use and also for sanitation on modern scientific lines. In our efforts to cope with this great difficulty we have been generously assisted by Government in the past, but with the yearly and rapid increase of population, our water-supply has become totally inadequate to satisfy our present requirements.

The great housing schemes of both the Imperial and Local Governments are now approaching completion and have added immensely to our responsibilities. Nor can we forget that the influx of members of the new Councils whose meetings will be held in Simla will be an added care lest anything be lacking for their health, their comfort and their convenience. Simla has other needs, but it is above all in the provision of an adequate water-supply now a matter of the gravest urgency that the Municipality desire to enlist your powerful and generous assistance.

6. It is traditional that the relations between the Viceroy and the people of Simla have always been of a cordial and intimate character and we are confident of securing from Your Excellency the same sympathetic

Address from the Simla Municipality.

interest in our local needs, institutions and charities that has been so uniformly displayed by your predecessors. In particular we would express the pleasure of all in knowing that Lady Reading will continue the work in behalf of the women and children of India which already bears the names of former Vicerenes.

His Excellency replied as follows:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Simla Municipality,—You are following time-honoured precedent in tendering your congratulations and good wishes to the new Viceroy upon his first visit to Simla, and in offering him a warm welcome to this charmingly situated town on the hills. I thank you very cordially for these expressions of your goodwill towards myself and feel assured that your sentiments are no less earnest and loyal than were those of your predecessors when they addressed the distinguished men who preceded me in the Viceroyalty. For your expressions of confidence in the successful discharge by me of the duties of the exalted office I now hold I am truly grateful, and devoutly pray that your trust in me to-day may be justified by future events.

Mr. President, I am almost inclined to envy you and the members of your Municipality when I learn from your address the problems that confront you, and compare them with those that come before me for solution. Do not however think that I would in any way strive to minimise the importance of providing an adequate water-supply and more scientific sanitation. It is but an elementary truth to assert that these are vital requisites of the health conditions of the residents at Simla, and that a plentiful supply of water with its cleansing and purifying effects is among the first necessities of enjoyment of the beauties and amenities of life on these hill-tops. I understand that the need for improvement in the water-supply has been recognised

Address from the Simla Municipality.

but that the financial arrangements require further consideration and are at present the subject of correspondence between the Government of the Punjab and the Municipal Committee. If the matter should come before me I shall be ready to give such favourable consideration as is legitimately possible to the proposed scheme.

Your expression of confidence leads me to make some observations on the situation which confronts Government at this moment and merits the consideration of all who are interested in the welfare of India. I cannot on this occasion discuss this situation at length, but it is well that I should place some views briefly before you.

I need not assure you that I assumed my office actuated by the earnest desire that I might be privileged to contribute to the happy and peaceful development of that high destiny which awaits India, if she chooses to avail herself of it, as a partner in the British Empire. The road is mapped out for her. An auspicious start has been made, and it rests with her people to complete the journey with the King-Emperor's message as their guiding-star.

Nevertheless, I must admit that there is discontent among some sections of the community which gives cause for serious thought and some anxiety to all who desire to live in peace and tranquillity.

It cannot be denied that there is in some quarters a disregard and even a defiance of authority which has in some instances resulted in violent outbursts and loss of life. The primary function of Government is to promote the welfare and happiness of the people and as a necessary consequence to protect them against external aggression and to maintain the law and preserve

Address from the Simla Municipality.

internal order. The peace of the community must not be disturbed by violence.

It cannot be doubted from quite recent events that there is some tendency to advocate recourse to violence. I desire to speak with restraint and moderation of speeches of this character, inasmuch as it is not for me to pronounce upon their true meaning or effect. These must be dealt with by Courts of Justice in the administration of the ordinary criminal law. But it must be plain that no Government conscious of its duties and responsibilities can permit incitement to violence, which usually has most effect on those who are least able to form a reasoned judgment and who, alas, too often fall victims to easily excited passions. Throughout his speeches Mr. Gandhi has consistently denounced violence and has urged his followers to abstain from it. It is to be regretted that in some instances this advice has been disregarded.

It is to be hoped that such differences of opinion or policy as may exist between fellow-citizens of India may be brought to a solution by the light of reason and mutual sympathy and understanding.

I have attempted in these very few observations to give expression to the thoughts that have troubled my mind. I trust that they will not be misinterpreted. They are intended to deal with only one phase of the present situation—that is, direct incitement to violence. They need not alarm but should comfort every citizen who does not desire violence. It is impossible for me to discuss to-day the many other questions that arise. I will only say that the information which reaches me leads me to hope that the proposals now made for alteration of the Turkish Treaty will satisfy the Indian Moslems that their

Empire Day Dinner.

religious sentiments have been respected and that their claims to help determine the Peace with Turkey have been abundantly recognised.

You will need no assurance from me that I shall take a sympathetic interest in your local needs and charities and Her Excellency will take special pleasure in the work on behalf of the women and children of India.

In conclusion, I earnestly hope that I shall continue during my visits to Simla to have the confidence of your Municipality ; and that it may be thought that I am striving to administer with understanding of the peoples' wishes, with sympathetic regard for their troubles, and, may I repeat, with the desire to do even-handed justice without distinction of race or creed.

EMPIRE DAY DINNER.

The large dinner at Viceregal Lodge on Empire Day, in honour of which the table was decorated with red, white and blue colours, was unique for more than one reason. Besides Their Excellencies there were present three Governors, the Commander-in-Chief, all Members of the Governor General's Executive Council and seven Ministers of Industries from the Provinces. After His Majesty's health had been drunk, His Excellency the Viceroy gave the toast of the seven Ministers of Industries coupled with the name of the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Venkata Reddi Nayudu. After happy references to the uniqueness of the occasion and to the Governors His Excellency proceeded :—

“ The work that these Ministers and Sir Thomas Holland as a Member of my Executive Council do here in this country is indeed of a most momentous kind. With ladies present, I am minded to say that with the development of the industries of India we may hope for a stronger race of women and consequently of children than we have had hitherto in India ; with

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development of industries we may obtain more assistance from India, more infusion of Indian capital into Indian enterprise and Indian interests: Indian profits will remain for consumption and expenditure in India. On Empire Day, the day we celebrate in England because we are so proud of the Empire to which we belong, is it too much to express the hope in India that it may not be very long before in India too Empire Day will be a day of pride to those who are partners—full partners—in that great Empire. With pride and at the same time I hope with proper humility we remember that we are citizens of the greatest Empire which is, I believe, in my heart the truest, the justest and the most righteous combination of nations the world has yet known”?

His Excellency's speech was received with loud applause.

Mr. Venkata Reddi in responding, as a representative of the oldest Presidency in India, said:—

“*Your Excellencies, Noble Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—It is as His Excellency rightly observed a very unique occasion. For the first time in the history of this country are assembled under the hospitable roof of the representative of our Emperor—our dear King George—the representatives of the people to whom has been entrusted a share in the responsible government of this great land. Your Excellency, my only privilege—my only right—to be called upon on this occasion to respond to your kind toast is that I come from, as you have said, the oldest Presidency in this country: the Presidency which has supplied the bedrock for the greatest Empire on earth—the Empire of India: the Empire of India which has made the great Queen Victoria and her successors the owners of the greatest Empire: it was the Madras Presidency on which the foundation of this great Empire was built. Madras has sometimes been called the ‘benighted presidency’, but recently we have been doing our best to see that the stigma is removed, and we have given two Councillors—one to the India Council at home and the other to the Executive Council here.” After a humorous allusion to the distance of Madras from Simla, a complimentary reference to

Dinner at the Chelmsford Reform Club, Simla.

Lord Willingdon and an invitation to His Excellency the Viceroy to visit the oldest Presidency in India at the earliest opportunity, Mr. Reddi concluded :—" Your Excellency just now referred to the great problems that are before your Government. I would only say this, that whatever may have been the information that reached Your Excellency at home and whatever may have been the impressions formed during the short time you have been in India, I would submit that the heart of this country is sound and we are by nature and by religion a loyal people, and whatever may come we will stand by our dear King-Emperor and ever be loyal to his throne and person." (*Cheers.*)

30th May
1921.

DINNER AT THE CHELMSFORD REFORM CLUB, SIMLA.

His Excellency the Viceroy dined with the members of the Chelmsford Reform Club on the 30th May, and in replying to the toast of his health said :—

Sir William Vincent, Mr. Shafi, Your Excellencies and Gentlemen,—Permit me first to express my thanks to the members of the Chelmsford Club for giving me the opportunity of being present this evening and of meeting so many of the members and their guests. And let me also thank you for the cordiality of your response to the toast of my health. I always think that I could enjoy the toast better and I cannot but think that it would be more conducive to that health to which you drank if I had not the painful consciousness that I had to make a response (*laughter*). But on the whole I am glad that you have given me this opportunity and also afforded an occasion for the graceful and eloquent speech which Mr. Shafi has just uttered. I am very grateful to him for all that he has said about myself, which of course was a little coloured by post-prandial oratory, but I am one of those fortunate individuals whose privilege it is to contribute, however humbly, to the public service of his country—privileged and fortunate because opportunities came to me which would have been welcomed by

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everyone-else if they had been afforded to them. Your Club bears the name of my distinguished predecessor Viscount Chelmsford (*hear, hear*). It was, I gather, instituted by him for the purpose of founding an Association where both Europeans and Indians could meet and exchange thoughts, commune in ideas, discuss problems, arrive at understanding and, as is generally the result, leave each other with the knowledge that there is more good in the other than at first seemed apparent (*hear, hear*). I am minded to-night to speak to you very briefly on certain propositions which I think are established beyond the possibility of doubt. First is the fundamental principle of the British rule in India. I suppose there is no one (there is no section of the British community, I am sure) who would dispute the proposition that here in India there can be no trace and must be no trace of racial inequality (*loud applause*). No one can study the problems of India without realising at the outset that there is some suspicion and perhaps at the present moment some misunderstanding between us. Well, I am convinced that whatever may be thought by our Indian friends not present in this room (I do not refer to those present because they are conscious of the contrary) I say we do not for a moment indulge in any notions of racial superiority or predominance (*hear, hear*). I think this is axiomatic of British Rule, although I am perfectly prepared to admit that there may be undoubtedly certain questions, with which I am striving to make myself familiar, in which there will be opportunity for putting this equality on a firmer basis than at present exists (*loud applause*). And as a corollary scientifically considered it is not a separate proposition, and I am sure that it will command from you as whole-hearted support as the proposition which I have just enunciated, I say that there

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cannot be and must never be humiliation under the British Rule of any Indian because he is an Indian (*hear, hear*). And I would add one further proposition which, I believe, is as true as either of those to which I have given utterance and which found support from you, that we British people in India and those also in our own country must realise that we have much suspicion to disperse, many misunderstandings to banish from amongst us and that in truth the essence to my mind of co-operation between us and Indians is that we should convince them by our actions, which will accord with our thoughts and intentions, that we honestly and sincerely mean what we have said with regard to India (*hear, hear*). This may not be accomplished in a day. I am not disposed to-night to follow Mr. Shafi in some of the observations that he made because if I did I should detain you longer than I intend and give an ill return for your hospitality; but I am so thoroughly satisfied from long experience and some knowledge of public affairs that it is only by the interchange of thought and by constant communion between members of different races existing under the same Government and having precisely the same object in view—the welfare of India (*hear, hear*)—that we can arrive at satisfactory results. I have recently had an opportunity of testing the value of this interchange of thought (*hear, hear and laughter*) although I must admit that in the full, free and frank discussion that took place between Mr. Gandhi and myself I cannot tell you all that happened (*laughter*); yet the veil has been to some extent lifted and there is no secret as to how the interview came about. Unless it should be thought that there was any concealment about it, I will tell you what happened. Mr. Malaviya came to see me and we had several interviews to my profit and I hope also to his (*laughter*) because

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I think two men cannot exchange ideas and discuss problems without deriving some benefit to either side. He left me with the impression that he would like me to see Mr. Gandhi. Well, it did occur to me that my address was not altogether unknown (*prolonged laughter*), but I informed Mr. Malaviya that if Mr. Gandhi applied to me for an interview I would readily grant it and I should be glad to hear his views. The consequence was that in due course Mr. Gandhi did apply and there was not only one interview but several interviews, between us. There was no finesse or manoeuvre about it. It seemed to be a plain and straightforward arrangement for an interview. Here again I think I am not quite as free to tell you all that you might desire to know (*laughter*) yet I will say that I am quite certain that the result of these interviews produced at least this satisfactory result, that I got to know Mr. Gandhi and he got to know me. The result may be somewhat vague and indefinite, yet it is not entirely so. As you may be aware, the result of these visits and discussions was that Mr. Mahommed Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali have issued a public pronouncement, which doubtless you have seen to-day, expressing their sincere regret for certain speeches that they had made inciting to violence and have given a solemn public undertaking that they will not repeat these speeches or similar speeches so long as they remain associated with Mr. Gandhi (*hear, hear*). I do not want to discuss this matter at any length. I merely refer to it as showing that the interviews were not entirely fruitless because so far as the Government is concerned we achieved our immediate object which was to prevent incitement to violence. I have had occasion once before to say it almost always reacts with fatal effect upon those who are most innocent (*hear, hear*). We as a Government have a duty to perform. We have to

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protect those who may be thus led away and we therefore had determined to take steps in order to vindicate the law, to maintain its authority and to prevent the recurrence of any further incitements to violence. Fortunately it has not been necessary to have recourse to the ordinary law of the land for the reason that we have now got the undertaking to which I have referred (*hear, hear*). I certainly shall assume that it is intended to keep that undertaking and that the expressions of regret are as sincere as their expressions seem to denote and so long as that undertaking is observed we need not fear that such speeches will recur, and provided the undertaking is observed, they too may be sure that there will be no prosecution for them. I am thinking at this moment of all the impressions that India has made upon me, and the Indians with whom I have so much come into contact since my arrival here. May I say in all earnestness that whenever I have met an Indian and discussed the problems with him, I have felt that there was, in spite of all that might be said, a true bond of sympathy between us and Indians (*hear, hear*). I am not a pessimist; I have never fallen a victim to that fell and paralysing disease (*laughter*). I started from home full of hope and trust in the future because in the little time that I had been able to give to the study of India and Indians I had already detected that there was a sympathetic feeling between us, that there exists, perhaps, with them a more delicate and intense sensitiveness than is the case with us, the people of Northern Europe (*hear, hear*). But it is an attractive attribute when carefully studied and considered and when due regard is paid to it I do believe that Indians will respond whole-heartedly to the just rule which we intend to carry on (*hear, hear*). I am fortunate in this that in my Executive Council I have Members, who one and all share the views

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that I have expressed to you this evening. There is no difference or dissension of opinion among us. We are all animated by the same purpose and are pursuing the same object. We mean to carry out our duty ; we mean to act up to our responsibility. Whatever happens we shall pursue our way. We shall do what we think is right. Even if we do what is right, from some things that I have learnt and read, I am afraid we shall nevertheless be suspected of sinister and evil motives (*laughter*). But I believe that the world has taught us that good purpose and good action must have their results, and all we ask is that there should not be immediately a suspicion that the purpose and the motives are evil, even though the action may be right, ever so right, in itself. It is not, I think, a very exaggerated demand to make. We are accustomed to believe that actions are judged by their results as to whether they are for good or for evil. I have learnt that one of the most difficult tasks that men can set themselves is to ascertain the motives of another. If you look to your own lives amongst your own friends, if you like a man, his action may appear to be a little questionable, but you are sure his motive is good. If you dislike him, his action may be ever so good you are sure his motive is bad (*laughter*). My judicial training has taught me to discard both these, to examine the action and to arrive at the motives from the character of the actions which are performed. And, Sir, that is the task to which we have set our hands, and as I have told you it is this course which we intend to pursue. We believe that in the end we shall satisfy Indians and bring them to sympathetic co-operation and goodwill with us, working for that great purpose which lies before us—to lead India to that high destiny which is in store for it when it becomes the partner in our Empire, when it has attained its full

Address of Welcome from the Ahmadiyyah Community.

development and risen to those heights which the imagination of man in my judgment is as yet incapable of comprehending, when India shall have obtained that place among the Councils of the Empire which will enable her to exert her influence upon the Councils of the World.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE AHMADIYYAH COMMUNITY.

23rd June
1921.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Ahmadiyyah Community on the 23rd June at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, and made the following reply :—

Gentlemen,—I am glad to have the opportunity to-day to meet you, the Representatives of the Ahmadiyyah Community, and to thank you for the congratulations which you have been good enough, through your Secretary, to express in the address to me upon my assumption of the office of Viceroy of India. I have listened with very deep interest to the account of the origin and growth of your community and have heard with real satisfaction of the loyal services which your community has been able to render to the King-Emperor. Let me say that I was impressed, on the introduction of your Members, by finding so many representatives of different professions and of different avocations of life, and in particular may I be permitted to say how pleased I was to find that among the Members of this Deputation to-day were two sons of the Holy Founder of your religion. And again let me add that it was a special satisfaction to see amongst you so many who, by their costume, by the uniform they wear, and the medals upon their breasts, are clearly ready to defend with their lives in the future, as they have done in

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the past, whenever the necessity may come, the loyalty that they owe to their King-Emperor.

The services of your community, let me assure you, are not less appreciated by me than by my predecessor. I congratulate you heartily on the spirit of loyalty which you have displayed—sometimes in the face of very great difficulties—as well as on the measure of assistance which you have been able to render. You have referred in moderate language to the momentous problems with which my Government is confronted, and you have made certain suggestions with regard to them. You have particularly referred to certain difficulties with which the Government is confronted in the Near East, and upon that you have laid special stress. Reference is to be found also to other difficulties, such as internal problems, and the conditions of the Indian and a recognition of citizenship in British Dominions and Colonies. You will appreciate that it is not possible within the limits appropriate to a reply to your address to traverse the whole ground covered by these difficult and complicated questions. And you have the advantage that when you make these representations to me, you have the responsibility only of expressing your views. It is upon the Government that the duty devolves of giving practical effect to them. But in general terms I can assure you that all these questions are receiving the constant and anxious attention of the Government. In particular, I would ask you to bear in mind the efforts that the Government of India have consistently made to secure terms of peace with Turkey more in accordance with the religious susceptibilities of our Moslem fellow-subjects in this country. I speak from personal knowledge when I tell you that no reproach can justly be made by Indian Moslems against Lord Chelmsford or the present

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Secretary of State, for both of these distinguished gentlemen persistently and most forcibly represented the Indian Moslem views and left no stone unturned to place them before the Allied Powers. If the facts were more fully known a more generous acknowledgment would be made to both of these distinguished friends of India.

Since I have been Viceroy I have done the utmost in my power to continue to represent these views to His Majesty's Government. These efforts of the Indian Moslems have not been fruitless; the recent Deputation of your fellow-countrymen has put the views of Indian Moslems before the Prime Minister—Mr. Lloyd George—and also before His Majesty's Government, and, as you are well aware, this Deputation has received the most sympathetic consideration. I do not mean by that, that everything that they asked was promised to them. That was hardly possible, and indeed, the Prime Minister explained that he could not fully accept these representations. But he went a very long way, as I am sure you will admit, when he made the promise, and when he used his powers, as he has used them, for the purpose of getting the Treaty of Sevres modified very much in favour of Turkey. That these terms have not yet been accepted by the powers involved cannot be laid to the fault of the Prime Minister or of the British Government.

I wish that the facts, to which I have just referred, were a little more generally recognized. I know that many Mohame-dans are free to admit that a great change has been made in the situation by the reception which the Prime Minister gave to the Deputation and by the statements that were made afterwards by Mr. Montagu embodying the terms the British Government was prepared to put forward to Greece and Turkey, and of which

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the British Government is seeking its best to obtain acceptance. But it does seem as if there are some among the Indian Moslems, who are more anxious to find fault with the British Government and more desirous of embarrassing British Rule in India than they are of recognising efforts that are made to placate, and indeed even to content, the Indian Moslems. There is at the present moment a recrudescence of the tendency in some quarters to represent Great Britain as hostile to Islam, and to indulge in references to the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards the Kemalist Government at Angora, which do not seem to be warranted by facts. The rumour that an ultimatum has been presented to that Government by the British is, so far as I am aware, untrue. I don't know whence the rumour comes, I have heard nothing of it. His Majesty's Ministers have, on repeated occasions, emphatically contradicted the suggestion that they are giving the Greeks any assistance in the campaign now proceeding in Asia Minor.

A great responsibility rests upon those who choose to make themselves the means of disseminating the notion in India that in its relations with the Angora Government His Majesty's Government has only shown another example of its alleged hostility towards Islam and of its resolve to crush the last remnant of Islamic temporal power. There is not a vestige of truth in that statement. Nothing could be further from the truth than to say that Britain is out to destroy Islamic power, and, let me add, that no statement is more calculated to tend to trouble and unrest among Indian Mahomedans. I most earnestly hope that, as a result of events that are now proceeding and of the efforts which are being made, as shown by the reports of Mr. Winston Churchill's speeches on behalf of His Majesty's

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Government, that their desire to bring about a reasonable peace with Turkey will succeed. I fervently trust that the neutrality, so recently reaffirmed by His Majesty's Government, in the struggle between Greece and Turkey, may be continued and that if the conflict in the Near East must proceed, Britain may not be compelled to depart from her declared policy. And I trust also that a just and reasonable peace may result, from the endeavours of the Allied Powers, between Greece and Turkey, which will content the Moslems and particularly the Indian Moslems, who constitute so great and important a portion of the population of His Majesty's subjects.

I will not detain you by reference in detail to other matters, save to say that I am naturally impressed with the difficulties which have arisen here in India as to the position of Indians in the Dominions and Colonies of the Empire. India's cause has always found a stalwart champion in this respect in the Government of India. At this moment India's representatives are in London and will sit at the Imperial Conference ; thus you may be assured that the views of the people of India will be ably represented to the representatives of the Dominions ; and I need scarcely say that for my own part, I shall always give this problem, closely affecting as it does India's position in the Empire, the very earnest attention that it most unquestionably merits. It has been my good fortune to meet round the Conference table, or at the Imperial War Cabinet, all those who now represent His Majesty's Dominions. They are statesmen who are never deaf to the views of reason and are never blind to considerations of equity and I feel convinced that they will give every heed to the Indian representations, always remembering their own responsibilities to their own constituents and to their

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own country. And to me the very fact that they will meet and discuss the problem is a great gain ; such a meeting always gives me hope and confidence.

With regard to internal problems, let me only add that as you are aware I have given constant attention to them from the time that I landed in India and assumed office. My most earnest wish, and I know it is shared by every one of my colleagues, is to promote a calmer and healthier political atmosphere, based on mutual understanding, mutual respect, mutual sympathy and on racial equality. I am in full accord with you that wrongful acts must not be vindicated in a spirit of false pride or to uphold an imaginary prestige and I agree, of course, that justice must be meted out without fear or favour to all who offend whether they be British or Indian. Our aim is by means of patience and tolerance combined with firmness in the maintenance of order and the protection of peaceful and law-abiding citizens to arrive at better relations between the rulers and the ruled.

One observation only I must make in reference to your address. You speak of British officers, and you make some observations with regard to their attitude towards Indians. I am not sure what is meant. If you mean " British officials " then I am sure that even though it may well be that errors are sometimes committed, they are not purposely made. There may be mistakes of judgment, as will happen to us all, but there is no foundation, I verily believe, for any suggestion that the " British official " is anxious to assert racial superiority over the Indian with whom he comes in contact. I am not sure that the suggestion is made, but, as the language might imply it, I could not pass it. I have watched with the greatest

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care the reports which come to me from the various provinces of the actions of the officials. I know that here, as at Delhi, we are at a great distance from a number of our officials; but from my own observation up to this moment, and I am still naturally watching with care, I am deeply impressed by the high sense of duty and responsibility of these men who are serving the King-Emperor, and India, in their endeavours to govern in the districts to which they are appointed, and who manifest a great desire to act wisely and justly.

If you mean by "British officers" those who hold the King's Commission, then I again am rather at a loss to understand your observations. I am brought into close contact with those at the head of military affairs here, and who have particular charge of British officers in this country, and I have made it my business to enquire, and am persistently enquiring, as to whether or not there is any foundation for the suggestion of an asse:tion of racial superiority by British officers. I am assured by those who share my views and are in the best position to know that there is none. I make these remarks lest there might be misunderstanding in reference to the expressions that fell from you, but do not think for a moment that we claim infallibility either for ourselves at Simla or for those who administer in remote districts. Far from it: we know how difficult the situation is; we know that human judgment is not infallible. All we can achieve is to act according to the dictates of our own honour, of our own conscience, with a supreme desire to do our duty both to the King-Emperor and to India.

In conclusion I am very grateful to you for your cordial wishes and congratulations to Lady Reading, who daily finds

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greater satisfaction in her duties. For myself I am encouraged by your support. India has embarked on her momentous voyage towards representative government, and equal partnership in the Empire. With all my heart I wish her success. I am privileged in that I have been entrusted for a time by the King-Emperor with the task of assisting in setting her course truly and guiding her safely on her great enterprise. But the captain on the bridge must have the cordial and ready assistance of all on board—officers, crew and passengers; and I know, gentlemen, that I shall receive that assistance from you in whatever capacity you may be called upon to perform it. I thank you for your expressions of loyalty; I thank you for your statement that you are all to be depended upon in whatever emergency may occur.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE
ASSOCIATION IN SIMLA.

24th June
1921.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided at the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association held at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on the evening of the 24th and made the following speech:—

I esteem it a privilege to become the President of this Association, and I thank His Excellency Lord Rawlinson for the welcome that he expressed to me in the opening remarks he addressed to you to-day. The Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association has made its work known, and it is well appreciated wherever there have been Indian sufferers. The work of the Association itself is well known to us in England, was well known before the war, is far better known since the

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war not only in Enlgland, but in all the battle-fields. The work of this Association, and of the Committee of which Mr. Hailey spoke have made a mark, a record in the world which I think can never be forgotten. It is a long history to which we listened just now both from the Commander-in-Chief and Mr. Hailey. I tried my utmost to follow the Commander-in-Chief, a man of action. He took me along so fast, and he had so much to do, and so much to account and look after, that I am not sure that even with the rapt attention that I gave him, I was able to appreciate everything that he said, but certainly in the observations that he addressed to us, he must have made some very considerable impressions upon our mind. Mr. Hailey gave us in brief a most remarkable epitome of the work of the Association, for which he spoke. The figures dropped from his lips as they can only from those of the Finance Member. These figures, which were stated so briefly to us, expressed very much to me. Nevertheless he managed them with lucidity of which he is so complete a master, to make the proper and due impression upon our minds. Certainly they are great reforms : it is no easy thing in a few minutes such as were taken by the Commander-in-Chief and Mr. Hailey to summarize very briefly the substance of what has been done, and yet they did manage to convey to us the real story. I have been impressed myself in trying to follow what has been done by this Association in India. I find that 20,000 persons have availed themselves in India of the classes of this Association in first-aid, and in home nursing. No small number. It is quite true that when the Association gives them the assistance of this education it does not mean that these ladies and gentlemen who have had the benefit of learning first aid and home nursing can altogether dispense with the assistance and advice of the medical profession. I think

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certainly no one will suggest, least of all those who have learnt this, that they can dispense with medical assistance, but nevertheless their acquirements are of the utmost use, and enable those who have taken advantage of it to give real and solid contributions to the health, and consequently to the life, of the Indians.

One portion of the work appealed to me particularly. It is that of the St. John Ambulance Brigade. Wherever there are divisions of this Association there you will find the members active. They are available on all occasions, ready to assist in all epidemics, present at all great gatherings to give any assistance that is available by the brigade, and then there are Nursing Divisions which render their free assistance in hospitals, making no distinction between British and Indian, and if one who has only just arrived and assumed the Presidency of the Association, is entitled to give any advice, I would venture to say "extend the work of the Ambulance Brigade, do all in your power to increase the sphere of its activities for indeed it is in those activities that our comfort aid and help can be given."

We have been told by Mr. Hailey of the record of the work in the war. Fortunately a greater part of the work is now over. The terrible sufferings during the war of the wounded and the sick have passed away, save as was pointed out in the case of those Indian Regiments still in Mesopotamia, and also on the Frontier, where the activities will still continue affording plenty of scope for the work. But in future the work of the Association must, in the main, be on the civil side, to lend assistance so far as it can to the hospitals, to help in times of epidemics, and in a word help a cause which requires no developing by me before this audience, to assist suffering humanity.

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Hitherto officials have borne the great burden of the work in carrying on the Association. They had their use, but they are very busy men. Their activities grow day by day, and the work in future, it seems to me, must be carried on by the great army outside the small circle of officials, known as I always find in India, as non-officials. It is to the non-officials that we must look for the carrying on of this work. These are the days when the non-official is coming into his own. Here is the opportunity for the non-official to show how vast is the field when the change comes, for work which was hitherto done by officials. This is the moment when some one will come forward and display no doubt that there is great financial capacity among non-officials who will be ready to show how they can build up the work of the Association.

I am perfectly certain that there are many who can do this work thoroughly well and I believe also that the appeal to them will not be in vain. They must come forward and help the suffering humanity. There can be no better work. During the war, when there was an appeal arising from the national emergency, the call of patriotism always evoked a ready response. Times of peace have a tendency to develop individual enterprise, and perhaps sometimes to make us or some of us fail to realize how necessary it is to work for the benefit of the people, but I do not believe that the cause of patriotism will not evoke response even in times of peace, and at this moment I would say to those who have any leisure, that this is the fittest opportunity that they can find for working for the benefit of the greatest cause which is known to mankind. There can be no higher deed than that of liberating suffering humanity, there can be no greater privilege than to render some assistance to those who are in pain, or who

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are in peril in life. Here is the opportunity, let us lend our hands and render all the assistance we can, and if we do so, I have no doubt that next year, when we come again to the general meeting of this Association, we shall have as great, and even a greater, record than in the past year. Those outside who have come forward to this movement will lend us their assistance, and who contribute by one means or the other will have the proudest of all satisfaction of showing that, however small, however minute, may have been the service that has been rendered to this Association, those who render it will know that they are giving their help to the cause of suffering humanity.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE UNITED PROVINCES LIBERAL ASSOCIATION. 7th July 1921.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the United Provinces Liberal Association at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on the 7th July, and in reply said :—

Gentlemen,—I am very gratified to have this opportunity of meeting the representatives of so influential and important a body as the United Provinces Liberal Association which, I understand, includes among its members many hundreds of men of leading in your province, members of the Bar, land-owners and men distinguished in the various professions. Your first Chairman, my colleague, the Hon'ble Dr. Sapru, has recently been selected by His Majesty for one of the highest offices in India. That is a fact on which your Association has just reason to be proud, and I think the Government of India are also to be congratulated on their latest recruit. In the Law Membership of the Government of India Dr. Sapru will

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find a wide field for those talents which won him so eminent a place at the Bar and which doubtless made you choose him as the first Chairman of your Association.

I am deeply grateful to you for the cordial welcome which you have extended to me on my assumption of the high office of Viceroy and Governor-General at this critical stage in Indian history. You have covered all main issues of political controversy in your address and in an eloquent passage in your address you say that justice, sympathy, equality and freedom are what India wants. With this sentiment I am in complete agreement and I am confident that these high ideals illumine and inspire those who are responsible for guiding India to the goal of responsible Government within the British Empire, which is alike your political creed and the declared policy of His Majesty's Government. May I in turn appeal to you—and I know I shall not appeal in vain—and through you to the countless number of your countrymen who consciously or unconsciously share your aspirations, for sympathy and assistance in our arduous task? We, who hold high office in this country, whether British or Indian, are well aware that we are liable to error, that we may come to wrong conclusions and that Governments like all human institutions have made mistakes. But we do claim that our motives are pure and sincere and that we are honestly striving to achieve our common purpose along the lines laid down for us by Parliament and in the manner we believe to be best calculated to promote the happiness and welfare of India. Give us credit for sincerity and honesty of purpose and do not make our tasks more difficult by keeping alive the mistakes and errors of the past when we are striving to allay discontent and to promote better relations. You allude to the unhappy events in the Punjab of two years ago.

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The very regrettable mistakes and excesses committed on that occasion have been frankly admitted and deplored by official spokesmen and in official documents on more than one occasion. Let me quote only one passage from a speech by Sir William Vincent on behalf of the Government of India. The Hon'ble Member, after recalling and condemning the cruel and wanton murders and crimes of violence that preceded the acts to which you refer, said: —“ On the other hand, we have overdrastic
“ and severe punishment, the excessive use of force and acts
“ which have been interpreted and, I am afraid, reasonably
“ interpreted, as calculated to humiliate the Indian people in
“ a manner which cannot but be regarded as unpardonable—
“ morally indefensible at any time, but more so than ever at
“ a time when this country is about to enter upon a system
“ of responsible Government.” Mistakes have been admitted : regrets have been expressed and the moving appeal was made to forgive and forget. I refrain from further discussion in order that I may follow this exhortation. I shall only add that we must use the past to gather wisdom to guide us in the present and the future and to help us to a closer and more sympathetic understanding of each other.

As you know, I am engaged at present upon the examination of the cases of persons still imprisoned in connection with these disorders and I shall shortly announce my conclusions. Apart from that, I do not see what purpose can now be served by reviving this unhappy chapter of our history, and I ask you—and through you all Indians who believe in constitutional methods—to endorse the view taken by the Legislative Assembly last February, to let bygones be bygones and to regard this chapter as closed save for the lessons to be deduced for the guidance of the future.

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You speak in your address of the terms of the Turkish Treaty. You acknowledge the efforts of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State to secure a revision of these terms. I can assure you that these efforts have not been and will not be in any way relaxed and that both the Secretary of State and the Government of India appreciate to the full and deeply sympathise with the feelings of Moslem India on this question. I have so recently expressed my views upon this difficult question that I shall not repeat them. But I know from my diplomatic experience how easily the settlement of difference between nations can be prejudiced by the creation of political atmosphere, and it seems to me that violent writing and speaking on this subject both in India and elsewhere can only have the effect of hampering our efforts, and of retarding and even of imperilling the solution of a problem in which India takes so profound an interest.

You mention in your address the obstacles impeding the free emigration of Indians to the various Dominions and Colonies. I am glad to see that you recognise that in this case the fault does not lie with the Government of India, though you should in justice to His Majesty's Government admit that in the case, at any rate, of the self-governing Dominions the fault does not lie with the Home Government, for in these matters His Majesty's Government, however sympathetic it may be to Indian aspirations, cannot impose its will upon the Governments of the self-governing Dominions. As you doubtless know, both the Secretary of State and my predecessor Lord Chelmsford have done their utmost to remove the disabilities of which you complain, and to secure for Indians the full rights of citizenship within the Empire. Our efforts have not hitherto been so successful as we could have

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wished, but I can assure you that we shall not falter in our task. The problem of reconciling two widely divergent points of view on this matter is one of great difficulty, but I have great hopes of happy results from the visit to England of India's two distinguished representatives on the Imperial Conference now sitting—His Highness the Maharao of Cutch and the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri. It is with the greatest satisfaction that I learn from the newspapers that these gentlemen have made a profound impression on the other members of the Conference and I shall be grievously disappointed if their efforts have no tangible results.

You have expressed regret that the principle of responsibility has not been introduced into the Government of India. Well gentlemen, you are well aware that the present form of government was never intended to be final. It was devised for a period of transition. It is in itself an immense advance upon the past and marks the confidence reposed in India by the British. You have expressed your profound disbelief in attempts at short-cuts to the goal of self-government by whatever label they may be described. I venture to express agreement with this view. In the language of the famous announcement of August 1917, advance must depend on the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service have been conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. But surely it is hardly in accordance with facts to say that the elected representatives of the people in the Central Legislature possess no power. No impartial observer can deny that the legislatures both at headquarters and in the provinces have in fact exercised the greatest influence over the executive and have developed powers possibly even greater than the

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authors of the reforms scheme originally contemplated. It is a high tribute to the corporate sense of responsibility of the legislatures that these powers have practically in every instance been exercised with a wise moderation, and herein lies the brightest augury for the future of representative institutions in this country.

With the desire of the people of India, apart from those classes who already belong to the splendid Indian Army, to take a larger share in the defence of their country, I am entirely in sympathy. We are doing all in our power to meet this very laudable desire. But as you have recognised, considerations of efficiency must be paramount. It is for this reason that it has been found necessary to proceed slowly and cautiously with the experiment of granting King's commissions to Indians. Since this policy was introduced, we have sent each year to Sandhurst the number of cadets which was fixed by His Majesty's Government. This represents about 20 per cent. of the number of commissions in the Indian Army given annually at present from Sandhurst. All those who are given cadetships do not unfortunately qualify for commissions, but the remedy rests with the cadets themselves. You will, I feel sure, agree that efficiency must be the first consideration, and that there are no grounds for admitting to the honour of a King's commission, with the great responsibility such a commission entails, anyone—whether British or Indian—who fails to attain the requisite standard of efficiency.

We are anxious, however, to afford special educational facilities to Indian lads who desire to enter the commissioned ranks of the army, in order to fit them to take full advantage of the Sandhurst course. With this object in view we are pressing on a scheme for the establishment of a school at Dehra Dun, where

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education will be given that will enable young men to pass into Sandhurst and to do credit to their motherland while there. I have reason to hope that this school will be opened early next year.

With reference to the general question of training Indians for the defence of their country, the rules under the Territorial Force Act are about to be published in their final form, and steps are being taken to constitute a number of Territorial Infantry battalions in addition to the University Training Corps. The response that is made to the appeal for recruits for this Territorial Force will be the measure of the genuineness of the demand to which you refer, and I confidently expect that it will be such as to ensure the success of the scheme and to warrant its extension in the near future.

I cannot speak at present about the probable results of the examination of Indian military requirements which is now being made by a Committee, of which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is President, and two Indian Members of my Council, as well as Indian representatives of the Legislative Assembly and of the Indian Army are members. As you know, the conclusions of this Committee, after examination by my Government, will be laid before a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence in England and we must await their conclusions.

Finally, the claim of Indians to hold commissions in other arms of His Majesty's military, naval and air forces in India, a claim with which I am in complete sympathy is now receiving our active attention.

I think that I have said enough to satisfy you that these questions you have ventilated are receiving the earnest and sympathetic consideration of the Government of India, and that

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our proposals are based upon that very principle of trust relied upon by you.

You have also referred to the concern with which you view the increase of civil as well as of military expenditure and more especially the growing cost of establishments. I can assure you that this problem has caused my Government also the most anxious concern. On the one hand, we have a deep sense of our responsibility to the Indian tax-payer and every desire to avoid increasing his burdens. On the other hand, we realise that high prices, high taxation and the other economic results of the war, which have operated to create discontent among members of public services throughout the world, could not be expected to leave India unaffected. They have in fact caused serious uneasiness among the members, both British and Indian, of nearly all services. This uneasiness was even more marked in the subordinate and ministerial services than in the superior services, and we were assured by more than one Local Government that unless steps were taken to assuage it, we would be risking a complete breakdown of the administration. It cannot be doubted that if you wish to maintain the high traditions of efficiency and probity which have always distinguished the higher services, both Indian and British, in this country, you must be prepared to pay for them. I think you will agree with me that at this crisis in her history, India cannot be content with the second-rate, but if you want still to obtain the first-rate, you must accept the view that it is essential to maintain the attractions of the services. Our difficulty, and it is a very real one, is to reconcile this urgent obligation with our responsibilities as trustees of the public purse. I must content myself to-day with assuring you that we shall continue to hear

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these responsibilities well in mind and that my Government will not fail to examine your suggestions with the greatest care.

You refer also to the control reserved in the Reforms Scheme to the Secretary of State over those branches of the superior public services which are serving in the provinces. You express the view that it detracts from the practical value of the reforms to place this highly important subject beyond the control of Provincial Governments. You will, however, recognise as practical men that the apprehensions generally felt in the services regarding the uncertainty of their position under the new form of government were not unreasonable, and that it was deemed necessary to allay them by taking the course which is the subject of your criticism. "

With regard to the Press Act, the Committee appointed by the Government of India to consider this statute has now presented its report, which will be published within a day or two. Its recommendations are far-reaching and have given me personally great satisfaction. I have no doubt that they truly represent the general opinion of the country and you may rest assured that they are receiving the most sympathetic consideration of my Government.

With regard to your complaint as to the excessive amount of the financial contribution which the Government of your Provinces makes to the Central Government, you will not, I am sure, expect me to go into figures on the present occasion. But I would remind you that the amount was assessed not by the Government of India, but by an impartial Committee presided over by one of the most distinguished Lieutenant-Governors of your own Provinces, who doubtless only arrived at their conclusions after they had taken into consideration all the factors so forcibly urged in your address.

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I note with satisfaction your assertion that you are members of a political party, which believes in constitutional action for political ends. You seek self-government for India within the British Empire. I am here as His Majesty's representative to help you by constitutional means to attain it; but the pace will not be accelerated, nor the end reached, by lawless or unconstitutional action. On more than one occasion I have already expressed the determination of my Government to maintain order, to vindicate the law and to protect peaceful and law-abiding citizens. We should be false to our trust if we failed in this respect. Although we recognise this primary obligation upon us as a Government, we are supremely conscious of our duty to ascertain the causes of the discontent of the people and to strive to our utmost capacity to remove legitimate grievances. There seems no difference of opinion between you and my Government in this respect nor, generally speaking, in the remedies you suggest. You advocate a steadfast endeavour by Government and their officers to substitute justice for prestige as the rule of conduct. I need not dilate upon the intense desire of my Government to do justice, but justice cannot be substituted for prestige, for the prestige of Government must depend for its existence upon justice, which is the foundation of the influence and authority of Government. But I am entirely in agreement with you if by this language you mean, as I understand, to convey that Government and their officers must regard justice and not the force behind Government, as the guiding factor in their conclusions and in their actions.

Again you seek to prevent oppression by subordinate officials who come into contact with people in their daily lives. You will not need my assurance that we are here in

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complete accord, as also in your desire for the promotion of social and economic well-being.

You are good enough to express your belief in my powers to solve these problems. I thank you for your confidence, but I become daily more conscious of the difficulties that confront my Government. It is essential to understand the complexities of the problem before the remedy can be devised or applied. Believe me, I am not so blind to daily events as some persons think and others would have you believe. I watch to the best of my ability the daily occurrences and am well aware that incidents happen at times which are quite unjustifiable and rouse the indignation that always follows upon injustice. Such acts are wholly unpardonable, either morally or politically ; but I believe they are becoming rarer and I trust will daily tend to disappear. You may rest assured that my attention is being directed to ascertaining and appreciating the differences in legal procedure and administration applicable to Europeans and Indians. I do not at this moment desire to express myself more fully, inasmuch as I am not yet completely apprised of all the factors, neither am I prepared at this moment to suggest the precise remedy. I am, however, fully conscious of the ground that it demands and is receiving the most careful examination and consideration of the Government. Believe me, I am profoundly conscious of the necessity of impressing the public mind with my Government's earnest desire and determination to do even-handed justice as the basis of its political actions.

I will ask you, however, to remember if you find me to-day cautious in expression that I have been here only three months and that I should deeply deplore using language of promise

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which I could not in the future justify by action. My last word to you is that notwithstanding conflicts, disturbances and agitations, I am convinced that we are daily making steady progress towards that fuller realisation of responsibility which you have so much at heart. I thank you for the assurance that I can count upon the support and co-operation of your Association and of the political party of which it is the organised representative.

14th July
1921.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE CALCUTTA MARWARI
ASSOCIATION.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Calcutta Marwari Association at Viceregal Lodge on the 14th July and in reply said :—

Gentlemen,—It has given me very great pleasure to receive your deputation. I thank you for your kindly welcome to myself and Her Excellency and I take it as a high compliment that instead of waiting for the visit which I hope to pay to your great city before the next cold weather has passed, you have abandoned temporarily your commercial pursuits and come all the way to Simla to put before me your views on matters in which you are directly and intimately concerned. As I am addressing an audience of business men I think that you would prefer that in my reply I should restrict my remarks on political matters, on which indeed I have spoken already both frequently and at length, and direct my chief attention to the business topics discussed in your address.

Address of Welcome from the Calcutta Marwari Association.

At the outset let me thank you for your kind reference to my interest in the industrial development of this great country. I need not assure you that I am taking a very great and personal interest in the industrial reorganisation which is now in process.

As you are aware, my predecessor and his Government took up this matter vigorously. A representative Commission with my distinguished colleague Sir Thomas Holland at its head, made elaborate and most useful enquiries, and on its report our present industrial policy is largely based. Provincial Departments have been instituted and are under the control of the representatives of the people — the Provincial Ministers. You have therefore the satisfaction of knowing that you and other Associations of the same nature as yours are in intimate contact with the great industrial development to which we are all looking forward, and with what is being done to bring it about. To achieve the end we have in view, we look to you and similar Associations for the fullest support and co-operation and I am confident from what I hear of the Marwari Association that we shall not look in vain. Let me now turn to some of the more important matters mentioned in your address.

First, as regards our railway policy which you say retards the development of indigenous industries by favouring the export of raw materials overseas and by giving to some centres what railway authorities speak of as “undue preference”. As you are aware, the Industrial Commission in 1918 devoted a special chapter of their Report to an analysis of the evidence which they received on this question ; and, as the member of that Commission principally responsible for the Report is now the Member of my Government in charge of Railways, you have a right to expect from him some practical recognition of the

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Commission's recommendation ; in other words, a policy shaped as much as practicable in the industrial interests of India.

When one remembers that India's financial prosperity has developed largely on a favourable balance of exports, and that the spread of railways has been inspired by sound business principles, it is natural to find them following the channels of greatest trade. Without this commercial impetus there would have been no railways at all for you to complain against ; and we must remember that, in using our power to impose maximum and minimum limits of freight rates, we must have regard to the vested interests which have grown up around our ports, as well as the necessity of attracting capital for the better equipment of our railway systems.

Accepting the well-known principle of charging what the traffic can bear, the Industrial Commission argued in favour of increased rates on the long leads of traffic to the principal ports rather than an unsystematic extension of the specially reduced rates to individual industries established inland. Individual concessions to inland industries have been granted in large numbers already, in the hope that their encouragement will result in increased traffic ; but, in order to keep within the law designed to prevent the grant of " undue preference ", each special concession involves an indeterminate sequence of others. I am, therefore, keeping an open mind on this question until Sir William Acworth and his colleagues of the Railway Committee submit the materials which will enable us to lay down principles that will facilitate the development of internal industries, without endangering the business principles on which our railway systems have extended their network of lines.

Address of Welcome from the Calcutta Marivari Association.

Another important question with which your address deals is that of tariffs. As you know, our customs tariffs have been designed hitherto for the main purpose of obtaining revenue, but the necessity recently for increasing the amount so obtained has naturally resulted in a rough discrimination between different classes of goods. Imported articles of luxury are more heavily taxed than articles of common necessity and some articles like machinery, which are necessary for industrial development, are admitted at specially privileged low rates.

Our general tariff has now reached a scale which naturally exercises the minds of external manufacturers of certain classes of goods ; and it is not surprising to find that they are anxious to represent their own immediate business interests. Under the reformed constitution there is now larger freedom in the raising of revenue according to our own views and in fiscal matters generally. The use of a tariff for purely revenue ends is relatively harmless, both as regards internal industries and in our international relations ; but the work of designing a tariff that will assist in the development of our own industries without injustice to consumers or harmful reflex results on our external trade, is a complex matter that requires very special and detailed consideration. We intend, therefore, to appoint a Fiscal Commission which will commence in October next to collect the evidence necessary to turn to practical account the large measure of fiscal independence which the British Parliament have added to the responsibilities of the reformed Indian Legislatures.

In your remarks on Indian trade and commerce I would suggest to you that it is not wise to take an unduly pessimistic view of the situation. I am well aware there is at the moment

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a serious depression in trade, which I trust may soon disappear and give place again to renewed prosperity. It may be that it affords you little consolation to be told that India does not stand alone in this respect and that this trade depression is and has been for some time past found in almost every country of the world. It is of course of the highest importance that India should develop her own industries and that so far as she is able from her own resources, she should supply her own population ; but no country's trade can prosper upon its own internal trade alone. The prosperity of a country's trade and commerce depends not only upon its own internal developments of production and of transport and distribution, but also upon the goods it exports to foreign countries. Indeed, as you well know, its surplus wealth depends upon the services and goods or their equivalent which are received in return for the goods sent abroad.

It is well for us to bear these elementary truths in mind in order to understand the difficulties of the present trade situation, so that we may not be deceived into thinking that a nation can do without foreign trade. I suppose if there is one lesson borne in upon us all from the war it is that nations are dependent upon each other for their supplies and for their prosperity.

With us in India very much depends of course upon the monsoon which, as you must admit, is beyond the control of a Viceroy or even of a Governor-General in Council. Let us continue to pray that this year's monsoon may be all we desire and that the earth may produce bountiful crops to make up for the deficiencies of recent years.

I note with interest your depreciation of Government interference with exchange. I am inclined to agree with you, but

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I hesitate to express my opinion too emphatically, as avenues of possible Government assistance are always being explored and human ingenuity may still possibly devise some means by which Government may be of service in regard to exchange. I do not say that these means have yet been found, but I am not prepared to accept definitely the proposition that Government can never be of assistance. In truth of course the exchange must depend not upon Government but upon the country's trade and its balance of exports to foreign countries as already indicated above. You may depend upon it that both in this matter of exchange as well as in that of the provision of credit facilities my Government will not take action without consultation with Indian opinion and without taking care to ascertain the views of Indian business men.

As regards your remarks on Indian representation on the directorate of the Imperial Bank of India, I would remind you that the four Governors nominated by Government to the Central Board are all Indians. Regarding the local directorate of the Bank in Calcutta, I am told that there is now one Indian Director, namely, Raja Reshee Case Law. It is unnecessary for me to remind you that the local directors are not nominated by Government, but are elected by the shareholders of the Bank on that local register.

So far I have kept to my intention of dealing in my reply with business matters. I will digress to the extent of discussing one political or semi-political subject, namely, that of your representation on Indian Legislatures. I am informed that on the Bengal Legislative Council your Association has been given one seat as a special concession to your commercial enterprise and importance. Further, out of a total of 113 seats on

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that Council, 15 have been reserved for commercial and Industrial interests. In the Legislative Assembly two seats are reserved for Indian Commerce : in addition there are two other seats to which various Indian Commercial bodies elect representatives in rotation. I would remind you that all those special constituencies belong necessarily to the transition stage of the Reforms and that as the system of self-government advances, special interests must rely more and more on the ordinary electorate for their adequate representation. The future in this matter of your Association and others of a similar nature will depend on your ability to educate the general electorate in the development of commerce and industry and on your co-operation in the ordinary methods and system of representation. In both respects I trust that you will be as successful as you have been in the past in your commercial activities.

Let me thank you once again for your address, and wish you a safe and pleasant return journey.

3rd September
1921.

OPENING OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE, SIMLA, 1921.

His Excellency the Viceroy opened in State the Second Session of the Indian Legislature in the Chamber of the Legislative Assembly at Simla on the morning of the 3rd September, and delivered the following speech:—

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature,—It is my privilege as Viceroy to welcome to-day the members of both Houses of the Indian Legislature at the opening of the second Session. It is my first opportunity of taking part in this ceremony and I am fully conscious of the importance of the occasion. One

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memorable Session has already been held when a standard of political wisdom and debating capacity was set that may well be a source of legitimate pride and satisfaction to those who contributed to the reputation thus attained. You who stood for election and became the representatives of these new Councils, and in consequence were subjected to attack and criticism, have already by your actions justified the position you adopted. At this present juncture my Government and you are faced with difficult problems, which demand all the political judgment and foresight we can contribute to their solution. I propose to-day to refer only to the more important and in their broadest aspect, and to survey with you the general conditions affecting India.

But before I enter into the region of possible controversy, I must discharge the pleasing and privileged task of referring to the impending visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the son and heir of our beloved King-Emperor. You will remember that a little more than a year ago His Majesty the King-Emperor by Royal Proclamation informed the Princes and people of India of his decision that the visit of the Prince of Wales to India must be deferred for a time in order that His Royal Highness might recover from the fatigue of his labours in other parts of the Empire. We have recently heard to our great joy that the health of His Royal Highness has been sufficiently restored to enable the visit to take place in November next. The ceremony of inaugurating the Reformed Legislatures, which was to have been his, has been performed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, and India will not readily forget the sympathy and love which inspired him, the devoted friend of India, in the discharge of his great mission. The Prince of Wales will come to India on this occasion as the son of the King-Emperor and as the Heir to the Throne, not as the

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representative of any Government or to promote the interests of any political party, but in order to become personally acquainted with the Princes and the people of India and to see as much as will be possible during his visit of this most interesting country. I know that I may safely count on those who belong to this great Indian Empire, and more particularly on the representatives of the Reformed Legislatures now gathered within these walls, to give to His Royal Highness, who has endeared himself to all who have been privileged to meet him, a warm welcome characteristic of the traditional loyalty of the Indian people and their devotion to the King-Emperor and his House.

You will already have learnt that the resignation tendered by Sir Thomas Holland has been accepted by His Majesty. In communicating to me the regret with which he had reached his conclusion, the Secretary of State expresses his general sense of the importance of the contribution which Sir Thomas Holland had made to the industrial development of India. The Secretary of State further records his appreciation of the high ability and strenuous labours which Sir Thomas Holland devoted during the war to the task of organising and increasing the supply of munitions. His services then rendered were of the highest value, not only to India but to the Empire, which the Secretary of State gratefully recognises. I associate myself with the tribute and add only that my regret is the greater because I lose a colleague in the Council with whom I have been associated from the moment I became Viceroy. The facts and conclusions of my Government have already been placed before you in the official statement published by my Government, and I need not refer to them again. The public felt, and beyond all doubt rightly felt, that the proceedings in Court

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had shaken the very foundations of justice. Fundamental principles of administration and justice had been violated and the acceptance of the resignation was therefore inevitable. Our conclusions were announced only in relation to the proceedings in Court and to the omission to refer to me as the head of the Government. Lest there should be any misapprehension, I must however add, on my own behalf and that of my Colleagues, that the existence of civil suits against the Government by the accused should be entirely disregarded in relation to the criminal case. Their unconditional withdrawal ought not to have any influence upon considerations of the withdrawal of the prosecution.

The lesson that we have learnt from these unfortunate events is that it is very desirable that the direction and control of Government prosecutions should be in the hands of a trained lawyer. The matter will be considered by my Government. I cannot but think that the absence of this training contributed largely to the difficulties in which my late Colleague Sir Thomas Holland found himself involved.

Let me now turn to external affairs. You will naturally wish to know the result of our negotiations with the Afghan Government. I had hoped that I should be in a position to-day to make an announcement to you respecting them. But though it was so far back as January last that at the invitation of the Afghan Government we despatched a mission to Kabul for the negotiation of a Treaty of Friendship, its outcome is still uncertain. Negotiations of this character, especially when supervening on actual war, are often not brought to a speedy close and these negotiations have been protracted by developments beyond the limit of my Government's anticipations.

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But despite all untoward complications or unexpected difficulties, I hope that we may before long conclude a new and abiding Treaty of Friendship with Afghanistan which will ensure the continuance of our traditional relations with this nation.

The frontier unhappily is still suffering from the unsettling influence of the Great War, and the other excitements and instigations of recent years ; but notwithstanding the drought and great scarcity of the present year which have done much to accentuate the economic difficulty that lies at the root of the frontier problem, unrest in Baluchistan has almost wholly subsided. Even in the North-West Frontier Province, with its narrow belt of British districts between the Indus and the frontier hills, exposed at all times to the brunt of tribal lawlessness, there is comparative quietude save in Waziristan. Military operations have now been in progress in Waziristan for several months. They have been conducted by our troops in the face of many hardships and against an elusive enemy with a fortitude and gallantry worthy of all praise. I trust that these operations may not long have to be continued. They are slow and costly—the problem of the inhospitable frontier does not lend itself to cheap or easy solution—but India's duty seems clear. And it must always be remembered that the expenditure on frontier defence is incurred not merely for the defence of the sorely harassed inhabitants of our border districts against trans-frontier lawlessness and raids ; it is incurred for the defence of India as a whole, and is an expenditure which India will assuredly not grudge.

Unhappily Greece and Turkey are still at war, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the Allies, and notably of His Majesty's Government, to effectuate a settlement of the grave disputes between these two countries. My distinguished

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predecessor, Lord Chelmsford, forcibly and persistently represented the views of the Indian Moslems to His Majesty's Government, and to the best of my capacity I have pursued and shall pursue the same course. It is also well-known that the Secretary of State for India has laboured most loyally and strenuously to persuade the Allies to adopt a policy more in consonance with the opinions of India. I dare not at this moment, when operations of war are proceeding, hazard an opinion as to the future, but I may express my fervent hope that a Treaty of Peace may soon be concluded on terms which will be reasonably satisfactory to Turkey and also to Indian Moslem opinion.

May I also observe that differences between some portions of the Moslem population that hold extreme views and the rest of the Indian Moslem opinion do not strengthen the representations, which I may make to His Majesty's Government in order that we may bring about a settlement satisfactory to Moslem opinion in India.

It is some consolation in these days to turn from the contemplation of warlike operations to the labours of the League of Nations. India took its stand from the first for the League which, in my judgment, gives the best hope of preventing future wars. The creation of a permanent International Court of Justice is one step, and not an unimportant step, in the settlement of disputes by the arbitrament of reason; and in this connection I am pleased to be able to inform you that His Majesty has been graciously pleased on behalf of India to ratify the acceptance of the Statute for the constitution of a permanent Court of International Justice, which was accepted by the representatives of India on the Assembly of the League of Nations. The Judges of the Court will be elected by the Assembly of the League of Nations and

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by the Council from lists of persons nominated by national groups representing the various nations which have accepted and ratified this Statute. In appointing this national group for India, my Government have endeavoured to select persons of the highest reputation and competency, and I am confident you will agree with me that Mr. K. Srinivasa Iyengar, now a Member of the Executive Council at Madras, Mr. Justice Rankin, Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, Mr. S. Hassan Imam, Barrister-at-Law, Patna, and Sir Thomas Strangman, Advocate-General in Bombay, who have accepted the appointments as members of the national group, fulfil these conditions. Their duties will be to nominate persons from whom the Judges of the Court will subsequently be elected. The court will have jurisdiction in cases of disputes between members of the League which the members agree to refer to it, and also in international disputes in labour cases and in transit and communications cases.

I have followed with the deepest interest the events at the Imperial Conference in London, where India had the good fortune of being represented by the Secretary of State, the Maharaja of Cutch, and the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, one of His Majesty's Privy Councillors. Although they were not able to achieve all they wished, it cannot be doubted that they have secured a notable recognition of the status of Indians in the Empire. It may be a tardy recognition, but it establishes beyond all question, and authoritatively, by the conclusions of the Premiers assembled at the Imperial Conference, with one dissentient, the equal status of Indians in the Empire; secondly, the attitude of His Majesty's Government and their recognition of this principle will mean that it will be applied in other parts of the Empire which are not under Dominion Government,

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and notably in East Africa. In India we cannot but rejoice at these conclusions, notwithstanding that we deeply regret that the representatives of South Africa felt themselves unable to accept them. We must not close our eyes to their difficulties, these are of a special character. But we must continue our efforts to bring about a recognition in South Africa. Assuredly we need not be discouraged by the result at the Imperial Conference : indeed, we should be stimulated to continue our labours, and I give you my assurance that I will strive to the full extent of the power and ability I may possess to obtain the recognition in South Africa and elsewhere of the principle accepted by the other Dominions and His Majesty's Government and to secure that it shall be so interpreted as to satisfy Indian pride and patriotism. I cannot pass from this subject without expressing gratitude to the representatives of India who represented the interests of Indians so ably and eloquently. I have read with great pleasure the reports of the reception of the Maharaja of Cutch and Mr. Sastri. It is beyond doubt that they have raised the status of Indians in the Councils of the British Empire ; they have contributed to the appreciation of the intellectual capacity, the graceful courtesy and the sensitive responsiveness of Indians, and have made a deep impression upon all with whom they have come into contact in England and elsewhere.

When I approach examination of the internal conditions of India, I find much that is hopeful for the future and my belief in your capacity to assist me and my Government in promoting the general welfare of the country is a constant encouragement in the performance of our duties. But there is still unhappily unrest in some parts of the country which continues to receive the serious consideration of my Government. Its most recent

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manifestation is in the district of Malabar, and thoughts naturally turn to the grave reports of crime and disorder which necessitated the issue by me of an Ordinance proclaiming Martial Law in certain parts of this district. I trust I need not assure you that having passed my life in the profession of the law and steeped as I am in the liberal traditions of England, I would never proclaim Martial Law unless I was convinced that it was absolutely necessary for the security of the country and for the safety of the population in the disturbed areas. In my judgment I should have failed in my duty if I had not taken this step in the emergency that arose and had not given to the Local Government all the assistance and support that could be rendered in quelling the uprising of the Moplahs and in protecting innocent citizens against the criminal acts of a violent mob. We must, however, be careful to view these disturbances in their proper setting. It would be rash and in my view wrong to assume that this rising is to be taken as symptomatic of the condition of the whole of India. It must be remembered that this district has always been a storm-centre and serious disorders have occurred in the past. I shall not enter into a lengthy discussion of the events and conditions that led to this serious outbreak, which may be said, without exaggeration of the language, to have assumed the character of rebellion, because I am well aware that you will have opportunities of discussing these matters in the course of your debates. I shall only make some general observations for your consideration. It is obvious from the reports received that the ground had been carefully prepared for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable to violence, and no effort had been spared to rouse the passions and fury of the Moplahs. The spark which kindled the flame was the resistance by a large and hostile crowd of Moplahs, armed

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with swords and knives, to a lawful attempt by the police to effect certain arrests in connection with a case of house-breaking. The police were powerless to effect the capture of the criminals, and the significance of the incident is that it was regarded as a defeat of the police and therefore of the Government. Additional troops and special police had to be drafted to Malabar in order to effect the arrests. The subsequent events are now fairly well known, although it is impossible at present to state the number of the innocent victims of the Moplahs. These events have been chronicled in the Press and I shall not recapitulate them. The situation is now to all intents and purposes in hand. It has been saved by the prompt and effective action of the military and naval assistance for which we are duly grateful, although some time must necessarily elapse before order can be completely restored and normal life under the Civil Government resumed. But consider the sacrifice of life and property! A few Europeans and many Hindus have been murdered, communications have been obstructed, Government offices burnt and looted and records have been destroyed, Hindu temples sacked, houses of Europeans and Hindus burnt; according to reports Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam and one of the most fertile tracts of South India is threatened with famine. The result has been the temporary collapse of civil government, offices and courts have ceased to function and ordinary business has been brought to a standstill. European and Hindu refugees of all classes are concentrated at Calicut, and it is satisfactory to know that they are safe there. One trembles to think of the consequences if the forces of order had not prevailed for the protection of Calicut. The non-Moslem in these parts was fortunate indeed if either he or his family, or his house or property, came near

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the protection of the soldier and the police. Those who are responsible for causing this grave outbreak of violence and crime must be brought to justice and made to suffer the punishment of the guilty. But apart from direct responsibility, can it be doubted that when poor, unfortunate and deluded people are led to believe that they should disregard the law and defy authority, violence and crime must follow. This outbreak is but another instance on a much more serious scale and among a more turbulent and fanatical people of the conditions that have manifested themselves at times in various parts of the country. And Gentlemen, I ask myself, and you and the country generally what else can result from instilling such doctrines into the minds of masses of the people? How can there be peace and tranquillity when ignorant people who have no means of testing the truth of the inflammatory and too often false statements made to them are thus misled by those whose design it is to provoke violence and disorder? Passions are thus easily excited to unreasoning fury. Although I freely acknowledge that the leader of the movement to paralyse authority persistently and as I believe in all earnestness and sincerity preaches the doctrine of non-violence and has reprimanded his followers for resorting to it, yet again and again it has been shown that his doctrine is completely forgotten and his exhortations absolutely disregarded when passions are excited as must inevitably be the consequence among emotional people. To us who are responsible for the peace and good government of this great Empire, and I trust to men of sanity and common-sense in all classes of society it must be clear that defiance of the Government and constituted authority can only result in widespread disorder, in political chaos, in anarchy and in ruin. There are signs that the activity of the movement, or at least of

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one section of it, may take a form of even a more direct challenge to law and order. There has been wild talk of a general policy of disobedience to law, in some cases I regret to say accompanied by an open recognition that such a course must lead to disorder and bloodshed. Attempts have even been made by some fanatical followers of Islam to seduce His Majesty's soldiers and police from their allegiance—attempts that have I am glad to say met with no success. As head of the Government, however, I need not assure you that we shall not be deterred one hair's breadth from doing our duty. We shall continue to do all in our power to protect the lives and property of all law-abiding citizens and to secure to them their right to pursue their lawful vocations and, above all, we shall continue to enforce the ordinary law and to take care that it is respected. It is the manifest duty of every loyal subject of the King-Emperor, just as it is the interest of all who wish to live peaceful lives with a security of protection against violence and crime, to oppose publicly a movement fraught with such dangerous possibilities and to help the officers of Government in their task of preventing and suppressing disorder. And all this time I and my colleagues are ready and anxious to do all that is possible to allay legitimate discontent and to remedy the grievances of the people of India. I am free to admit that there are grievances to be remedied, and we are constantly directing our attention to devising the proper remedies for this purpose; and I am well aware that we can rely upon your assistance in this and future Sessions, for you sit here to mirror public opinion, and I and my Government will continue gladly to welcome the help you may give to us.

You, the first representatives of this Legislature, can already point to solid achievement as the result of your deliberations

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and activities. I shall not attempt to chronicle them, but I shall refer to some important instances. A Committee was appointed to examine the laws dealing with the Press: its report is now before you. The *personnel* of the Committee, which included members of both your Houses, was predominantly non-official, and its recommendations, which I am glad to say were unanimous, may be accepted as reflecting the popular views of the laws in question. Legislation on the lines recommended by the Committee will shortly be laid before you. Its most important feature will be the proposal to repeal the Press Act of 1910. There is, however, one part of the Report upon which I think it is necessary to make some reservations, and that is in relation to the protection hitherto afforded since 1910 to Ruling Princes against seditious attacks upon them in newspapers published in British India. If the Press Act is repealed, it may become necessary to consider what form of protection shall be given to them in substitution. I will not pursue the subject now, but it will doubtless be discussed at a later stage.

The Repressive Laws Committee—another Committee of a very similar character—has recently made a careful examination of certain laws and regulations which confer extraordinary powers on the Executive Government. Their Report will shortly be published, and I trust that it will command your approval and that of the country at large. I cannot make an announcement regarding the legislative measures that will result from the Committee's labours as they have not yet been considered by my Government. But I think I may safely say that a number of laws popularly regarded as infringements of the liberty of the subject will in all probability be repealed.

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The consideration of this subject brings me not unnaturally to the cases of the 86 men sentenced in connection with the Punjab Disturbances of 1919 who are still in jail. I wish it had been possible for me to-day to have announced my decision to you : but I am not yet quite ready to declare it. I confess that when I undertook myself to examine each of these 86 cases I under-estimated the labour involved and I did not sufficiently realize the constant demands upon my time consequent upon the responsibility of the position I occupy. Unexpected events happen and decisions must be made immediately, and I am sure that I need not remind you of the unexpected incidents that have happened during my short period of office.

You will remember that as the result of discussion last Session an important Committee under the presidency of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has sat to consider the military requirements of India. The report of the Committee will be considered in London by a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence and we must await their decisions.

A notification has been issued constituting seven Territorial Force Units in different parts of India and in Burma in addition to the University Corps. It is hoped that numbers of recruits will be forthcoming to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded for acquiring military training, so as to fit them to take a share in the defence of their country. My Government will spare no pains to further the interests of the Territorial Force, and it now rests with the people of India to make the scheme a success.

A resolution was passed by the Legislative Assembly last Session recommending the establishment of a college in India to train Indian lads who desired to enter the Indian Army through

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Sandhurst. A scheme on these lines has been forwarded for the approval of the Secretary of State, and as soon as that has been received rapid progress will be made with the adaptation of the buildings formerly occupied by the Imperial Cadet Corps at Dehra Dun so as to fit them for a college of this nature. It is hoped that the Prince of Wales may be pleased to perform the opening ceremony and that the preliminary work will be completed in time to enable the college to be in working order. The college will be large enough to accommodate 90 pupils in the first instance, and if it proves a success, it will be possible to make expansion in the immediate vicinity of the college. A subject which has occupied your attention and that of the Indian public, and roused great interest, is that relating to the free admission of Indians to all arms of His Majesty's military and naval forces in India. In accordance with the resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly my Government is now in communication with the Secretary of State with the object of enabling Indians to qualify for Commissions in the Artillery and Engineer Services in the country, and it is examining in consultation with the Secretary of State the question of the provision of facilities for Indians to be trained for Commissions in the Royal Air Force. A scheme is also under consideration for assisting Indian lads to qualify themselves by a period of training in England for a Commissioned rank in the Royal Indian Marine.

Financial discussion occupied much time last Session, and you will not expect me to say anything fresh at this moment regarding the present trade and financial conditions. We are still awaiting that long expected revival in the demand abroad for India's products; this has been a very long time in coming, and I am sure the patience of many of us must have been sorely

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tried. Those who are in touch with our export markets tell me, however, that there are, at last, some faint, though unmistakable, glimmerings of revival, and that, if the monsoon continues good to the end, as we now have reason to hope it may, we shall before long see the beginning of a return to more normal conditions, and, perhaps, to something like our pre-war balance of trade. I mention this feeling of mild optimism, as it seems to be held in well-informed circles. For myself, I cannot attempt to prophesy. I would, however, invite your assent to two general observations. The first is that India's own financial position is, as I believe, intrinsically sound. The State may have been occasionally forced during the war to do things which must have seemed to be a departure from the severe conservatism which had hitherto characterised the management of India's finances. But when we remember what most other belligerent countries were forced to do, and the enormous inflation of currency and credit, leading in many cases to something like national bankruptcy, which has followed elsewhere, we may, I think, at the risk of being considered Pharisaical, thank Heaven that we are not as other countries. A country that can put up nearly 40 crores of new money for a national loan need not entertain many qualms as to its financial future.

My second observation is merely a corollary from the first. Seeing that the existing difficulties of India's trade are due almost entirely to causes external to herself, it follows that when that revival of international trade comes, as come it must, then India will be one of the first countries to reap the benefit. The products which she has to offer to the rest of the world are not luxuries, the purchase of which other countries can defer until their finances are in better order, but are for the most part

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necessities, either as food-stuffs or as raw products for their manufactures. All these factors combined must make India's position one of great advantage as soon as trade revives, and justify a refusal to be depressed by budget deficits, a low exchange, or other circumstances of the moment.

In considering the conditions of the people of India the greatest importance must always be attributed to the high prices now ruling for the necessities of life. This subject is constantly engaging the attention of my Government and, in particular, it has been directed to the extraordinary recent rise in the price particularly of wheat and of rice. You will have observed from a statement issued by my Government this morning that we shall continue the existing prohibition of the export of wheat, atta and flour until at least the end of March 1922. It is also proposed that so far as possible the requirements of wheat for the Army in India or based on India be for the present supplied by the purchase of Australian wheat. It is hoped that by these means relief will be given and that the rise will be checked if not counteracted. My Government will not fail to watch events in this connection. Their importance on the political condition of India is perhaps greater than is usually recognised.

Our arrangements for the Fiscal Commission are well advanced and I trust that the Commission will begin its important labours next month. In recognition of India's advance towards fiscal autonomy the majority of the members of the Commission will be Indians and it is also intended that the Chairman shall be an Indian. I regret that at this moment arrangements are not sufficiently completed to enable me to give the names. The task before the Commission is one of enormous difficulty.

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Its duty will be to advise the Government of India, not only whether India should approve in the interests of the solidarity of the Empire the principle of Imperial Preference, but also whether we should abandon our time-honoured policy of a tariff raised primarily for revenue purposes in favour of a policy of protection. The task thus opens up questions of great difficulty and complexity, but I am confident that the Commission will approach them with a high sense of responsibility and that its report will be of the greatest assistance and value to the Government of India.

The Government recognise that during the last few years there has been a great awakening on the part of Indian labour, and they are fully alive to the new conditions that such an awakening demands. The Bill to amend the Indian Factories Act which is now under your consideration has the two-fold object of increasing the efficiency of Indian labour and of bettering its conditions.

Another social measure to which we attach great importance is a Bill to regulate the grant of compensation to workmen for injuries received in the course of their employment, which we hope to introduce early in 1922. The recent industrial unrest has also been accompanied by a growth in the number of trade unions, and the question of giving adequate protection and legal status to those unions which are genuine labour organisations is at present under consideration. The Government are also carefully studying the question of arbitration and conciliation. We are glad to observe that this matter of the settlement of labour disputes is receiving considerable attention from Provincial Governments and in Provincial Legislatures. I am full of hope that the various measures that are now being adopted or being recommended to employers as well as to

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employés will establish the peace and harmony that is absolutely necessary for the development of our industries.

The evidence of strong racial antagonism that to some extent prevails has caused me the greatest concern since my arrival in India. Regrettable incidents have come to my notice. At the same time I am far from asserting that the fault is all on one side. It seems to me that among the factors contributing to this unhappy racial tension instances of violence and discourtesy by Europeans against Indians, which occur from time to time—although in truth I believe infrequently—cannot be overlooked. There is, in general, I venture to assert, no ground of complaint to be made, but any instance of incivility attracts far more attention than the usual and infinitely more numerous instances of courtesy by Europeans to Indians. Neither can it be said that the results of the trials of Europeans concerned in criminal cases arising from acts of violence or from improper conduct have always given satisfaction to the public. I have been made aware of a very prevalent feeling amongst Indians that in such cases strict justice does not always result when a European is concerned, and it cannot be said that the result of such trials always satisfies the public conscience. In particular, my attention has been directed to the differences in the legal procedure applicable to Europeans and Indians. Local Governments have been consulted and an opportunity will be taken during the course of the present Session to lay before you the proposals of my Government as to the steps which should be taken for further examination of this question, and I trust that in the result means will be found to satisfy public opinion that justice will be done both to Europeans and Indians.

There are many other subjects which will be considered by you during the course of this Session. There are questions of

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importance to which I have not even referred, as I do not wish to detain you too long. In particular, I would mention the interest taken by Sir Thomas Holland in the industrial development of India. By his departure we lose the benefit of the services of one who has laboured faithfully and capably to this and there are projects of irrigation which specially attract my attention. I wish I could have discussed them. There is again education which is dear to my heart and upon which I should like to have made some observations to you. But I must content myself with the knowledge that there will be other opportunities and that all these subjects will come before you in the ordinary course of your deliberations and will receive careful attention.

During the time that I have been Viceroy I have been in constant intercourse with men of the Public Services of this country—both British and Indian—and I desire to take this opportunity of expressing publicly my grateful thanks to them for the assistance they have rendered to me and to Government, my appreciation of the services they are always ready to perform, my recognition of the inevitable promptness with which they have responded, to what I must confess to be the inordinate demands made by me upon their time and their labours.

Now, gentlemen, I shall not detain you longer. Sitting here in this Chamber, at the first meeting of this Session of the Reformed Legislature in Simla. I find my mind surging with imagination as to the future. I know that you are sitting here under a Constitution which has never been presented otherwise than for the purposes of the transitional stage. There are Resolutions that will come before you during the sittings of your Assembly urging your advance along the road of

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constitutional progress. I am carefully watching and studying the working of this new machinery, and I am satisfied that in the short space of time, in which it has already existed, you have not yet sufficiently tested its perfections, if you are ready to admit that it has any, also its imperfections which no doubt you have already to some extent discovered. It is a human machine with human imperfections. It has never been presented otherwise than as a compromise, and it will take a little time before we can fully realise how it will work and how this machinery will fit in with the complex machinery of the Government of India. I will not at this moment hazard any observation as to the future. I am not so young as most of you who are present here. I am prone to the caution of age and therefore will wait until I have had a little more opportunity of judging before I pronounce my conclusions. But these questions will be raised by you in this Legislature which has still some Sessions before it. There will be opportunities for full consideration and deliberation.

I have already pointed out the results of the labours of this Assembly during the short period of its first Session. I have dilated briefly upon some of the results of the creation of this Reformed Legislature. You have gathered a good harvest, for as a result of the Committees appointed and the legislation following upon your Resolutions, and the expression of your opinions duly recorded by Government, you are already able to point to a large volume of Government action taken to redress grievances. May I again—taking advantage of my years as we elderly people so often do—add one word of warning? I do not think you can always expect at every Session to garner so rich a harvest.

In conclusion, let me say to you as a Member of this Legislature now present with you, addressing general observations

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upon present conditions, that we are all working together with one single purpose in view, the promotion of the welfare and happiness of India. We have no other object, we have no other desire except this which binds us all together and which calls for the manifestation of that spirit of mutual good-will and forbearance, without which no deliberations can be effective and lead to lasting results.

In leaving you to your labours I make an appeal to you, which I am confident I shall not make in vain : Do not content yourselves with merely doing your duty in this Legislature, although I know it makes a great demand upon your time. It needs patriotism to sacrifice leisure and sometimes remunerative occupation to take part in the deliberations of this Assembly. You may think—no, I will not say that—but some persons may think that this is a sufficient demand to make upon you. It is not. No demand is too great when there is need for patriotism. It is essential that men like yourselves who are assisting Government by your advice, for Government is always seeking knowledge, should go forth among the people not only at time of election when constituents must always be remembered, but at other times. You must be conscious that you are taking part in important deliberations, and that you are thus assisting in moulding the destinies of this great Empire. You are, permit me to say, inscribing your names on the golden roll of patriotic service, and are devoting yourselves to great work, and in this high purpose are true to your God, to yourselves and to your country.

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Dinner given by the Punjab Ministers at Simla.

26th September 1921.

DINNER GIVEN BY THE PUNJAB MINISTERS AT SIMLA.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the dinner given by the Punjab Ministers at the Grand Hotel, Simla, on the 26th September 1921 :—

Mr. Fazl-i-Hussain, Lala Harkishan Lal, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not know whether during the speech to which you have just listened you were paying any attention to me, but if you were you will have noticed that I was being made to blush by observations made about me. I thank the speaker very much for the very kind and hopeful words that he has addressed to you, and I thank you for the way in which you have received the toast of Her Excellency and myself. I was interested, in a quiet conversation with Mr. Harkishan Lal, who has a strong sense of humour. As the dinner progressed and the speech to which we are accustomed in England after dinner did not come, I remarked to him what an excellent custom they had in India of having no after-dinner speeches. He fell in with the view and agreed with me and said, it did make it very pleasant. But now I wonder what his views will be if he has to listen to me for very brief moments. I also noted that in the toast that was proposed to you we were referred to as the representatives of law and order. Well, having been brought up to observe due regard for the fairer sex and having passed many years of married life, I recognise that the part that belonged to me was that of law, and the part that belonged to Her Excellency was that of order. Perhaps this is a very wise dispensation. Again I observe for the first time in my life that the Punjab—mark it—the Punjab was spoken of by the speaker as a backward Province. Well, I accept the statement as it was made, but interested as I am naturally in affairs of the Punjab, in which Province I am living, I would

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like to ask His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab, if he has few hours of his busy life to spare, to explain to me in what respect it is that the Punjab is backward. Of course I speak with diffidence in this matter. I have had some six months' experience in India, and I will certainly add that during that time I have very largely increased my knowledge of human nature, and my deep sympathy with humanity, and my appreciation of the value of justice. I will not indulge to-night in explaining to you some of the other things that I have learnt. The Viceroy's life is undoubtedly a busy one now-a-days, and I spend much of my time in learning. I have learnt more from La'l Harkishan Lal this evening. I lay no claim, being a lawyer, to the great merits of law. I assume that any one who spoke with that admiration of law and lawyers which was expressed by our speaker is an admirer of it from a distance. He finds law much more attractive apparently when he has left it. In truth the great value of law and of the profession of law is that it cultivates high ideals of justice. Men who are practising day by day in this country, I am sure, have become imbued from traditions of their profession with a very high standard of justice. It is quite common at the bar in England, as I am sure it is here, for a barrister to come away from the court having exhausted all his ingenuity, displayed all his eloquence, borrowed every body's learning, and nevertheless having failed to convince the judge, to acknowledge when the heat of moment is over, if his judge has tried his case fairly, that he has had justice. I would always prefer to be known as a just man rather than a great lawyer. But I should be sorry to say one word which would depreciate the value of the great lawyer because it is through great lawyers that justice is obtained. I might be tempted, but I won't to say many

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things to you. At the present moment the process of my education is proceeding. The Council of State and the Legislative Assembly are sitting and it is my daily work every morning to read the report of the events of the previous day. I will only say to-night, having made up my mind that nothing will drag me into the political field, that I derive great satisfaction in reading the reports of the deliberations of these Assemblies—satisfaction, however, tempered by a little regret when I find that the majority is against the Government. Now ladies and gentlemen, I will not detain you. Permit me to say one serious word. In the task to which my hand has been set by the choice of the Sovereign, I am honoured and I am privileged to bear very great responsibility. I need not tell you that it is never absent from my mind. I have rejoiced at the opportunity. I know the difficulties, but I am hopeful by nature. And by study of Indian affairs I am not disposed to lose any of the hope which animated me when I came to this country. I shall not prophesy. Prophecy is generally indulged in only by the young. When years have passed you realise too often that your early prophecies have turned out wrong. In all earnestness I will only say, that I would desire for myself, at the end of my term as Viceroy, that in preference to a memorial or statue, or temple of fame, I should leave behind me in India and in my own country a memory of work redounding to the welfare of India and the Empire.

DEPUTATION FROM THE PUNJAB MOSLIMS.

1st October
1921.

His Excellency the Viceroy in replying to an Address of Welcome from the Punjab Muslims at Viceregal Lodge on the 1st October said :—

I am glad to have the opportunity of meeting a deputation representing the great Muhammadan Community of the Punjab.

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I am deeply touched by your expression of welcome to me. I earnestly trust that I may be fortunate enough when I arrive at the close of my period of office to retain unabated that confidence which you have so kindly expressed in me, and to carry with me the good-will of the members of your community and of the rest of India. You do not need assurances of my earnest endeavours faithfully to discharge the sacred task entrusted to me by the King-Emperor. I speak simple truth when I tell you that it is my daily prayer that I may be privileged to bring greater happiness and prosperity to India and Indians.

I note with especial pleasure the warm and enthusiastic welcome your community extend to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who is about to visit India as heir to the Throne. This is but another among the many proofs of the devotion of the Punjab Moslms to the King-Emperor and his House. If it were necessary to seek them I would point to the 170,000 troops recruited during the war from the Punjab Muhammadans, and emphasise that this number, as I am informed, represents approximately one half of the total number recruited in the Punjab. Again, were it necessary I would direct attention to the splendid services of all those troops from the Punjab, drawing no distinction for this purpose between Hindu, Mussalman and Sikh, but relying only on the devotion and loyalty of these men of India to their King-Emperor and I trust that arrangements may be made for bringing some of these gallant men to the personal attention of the Prince of Wales. I feel assured that when His Royal Highness visits your province he will be received enthusiastically by the members of your community and I trust, and believe, by the other communities in the Punjab. In the Prince's visit political controversies should for the moment be laid aside, for whatever he view

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and the political disputes in India His Royal Highness has no part in any of them, but stands above them and comes, unaffected by them, to grasp India warmly by the hand.

India is passing through a critical stage in its political development, and it is with real satisfaction that I have heard your assurances that your association dissociates itself from the dangerous and disruptive propaganda that is most unfortunately for India being carried on by the adherents of a movement which seeks to paralyse authority and can only lead to disorder and bloodshed, as experience has already shown, notwithstanding the exhortations to avoid it.

Turning to matters to which you more particularly invite my attention, there is first the question of communal representation. On that matter the position of the Government has been repeatedly defined. Communal representation for the Muhammadan population was proposed in the report on constitutional reforms, was accepted by the Joint Parliamentary Committee and is embodied in the statutory rules under the Government of India Act, which secure to your community representation in all the Councils in accordance with the formula known as the Congress-League Compact. You may rest assured that my Government does not contemplate a departure of policy in the matter.

On the subject of the future of Turkey, I would invite your attention to the remarks which I made when inaugurating the second session of the Indian Legislature. I cannot at the moment when operations of war are still in progress, hazard any opinion as to the future. I can only reiterate my fervent hope that a treaty of peace may soon be concluded on reasonable terms satisfactory to Turkey and also to Indian Moslem

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opinion, and my assurance that I shall not cease to impress the views of the Indian Moslems upon His Majesty's Government, and shall support them to the utmost of my capacity. In these days when it is represented that Britain is antagonistic to Islam it is well to remember the important developments that resulted from the Conference in London and the British Prime Minister's efforts in the direction of modifying the terms of peace in favour of Turkey. In regard to the supply of munitions to the belligerents, I would remind you that for reasons fully explained by the Prime Minister, His Majesty's Government have adopted an attitude of strict neutrality and that this, in accordance with established international practice, carries with it the obligation to refrain from interference with the supply of materials of war to the contending forces. I am not aware, however, that the result is in practice to confine such supplies to the Greek forces. Indeed, in answer to a question in the House of Commons the Prime Minister stated that British firms would be permitted to supply munitions to Turkish forces and if reliance can be placed on statements which have recently appeared in the Press, the Turkish forces have been obtaining large quantities of munitions from neutrals. Be it therefore remembered that there is no shadow of foundation for the suggestions which have sometimes been made that Britain is helping Greece in some shape or form in her war with Turkey. Just before the House of Commons rose last month the Prime Minister said in reference to this subject: "We have not given arms to either of them, not a single gun, rifle or shell. These battles have been fought without any assistance from us either way." Believe me that I am very conscious of the strength of Moslem feeling in India in all that affects the Khilafat and the Moslem religion, and let me assure you that

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I shall continue to represent Indian Moslem views with all the force I can command to His Majesty's Government, and I trust that these will have some effect. It cannot honestly be said that the British Government has failed to respond to these appeals or representations of Indian Moslems, for the vast importance of the change in the attitude of the British Government towards Turkey cannot be exaggerated and certainly ought not to be forgotten by the Moslem Community in India and elsewhere.

I am not sure what precisely is meant by your remarks on the subject of inexperienced and young British civilians. Instances of incivility by Europeans to Indians have unfortunately occurred, though I believe infrequently. But if the reference is to the junior members of the Indian Civil Service, I can only say that no cases of discourtesy by these officers have come under my notice. If any errors have been committed, I feel sure that they have been errors of judgment, errors due to inexperience or inadvertence and not the outcome of racial pride or arrogance. The differences in the legal procedure applicable to Europeans and Indians are, as you are aware, a matter that has recently been the subject of discussion in the Legislature. As there announced, my Government accept the principle of racial equality, and have decided to appoint a Committee to consider what changes in the law are required and are feasible.

In regard to the treatment of Indians in the self-governing Dominions and the Crown Colonies, may I again refer you to the remarks which I made when inaugurating the second session of the Indian Legislature? The Resolution passed by the Imperial Conference has established beyond all question

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and authoritatively, by the conclusions of the Premiers assembled thereat, with one dissentient, the full status of Indians in the Empire; and the attitude of His Majesty's Government and their recognition of this principle will mean that it will be applied in other parts of the Empire which are not under the Dominion Governments including East Africa. I regret deeply that the representatives of South Africa felt themselves unable to accept this Resolution. There are difficulties in the case of that Dominion of a special character, but I repeat my assurance that I shall strive to the full extent of the power and ability I may possess to obtain the recognition in South Africa and elsewhere of the principle accepted by the other Dominions and His Majesty's Government, and to secure that it shall be so interpreted as to satisfy Indian pride and Indian patriotism.

The increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration was placed in the forefront of the announcement of August 20th, 1917, is embodied in the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919 and is therefore the accepted policy of the Government. Notable steps in this direction have already been taken and whilst the reduction of the British element, as you will doubtless recognize, must proceed gradually, the further indianization of the Services will be carried out as rapidly as circumstances permit.

I welcome the statement that you agree with the measures which are being taken to restore law and order in Malabar. Those who have been guilty of deeds of violence and crime must be brought to justice. But you may rely upon it that those unfortunate and deluded persons, who have been induced to believe that they should disregard the law and defy authority, will be dealt with with due regard to their position; and you

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may rest assured that any action that it may be necessary to take against them will not err on the side of excessive severity. The grave crimes and outrages that have been committed in Malabar are the inevitable result of the violent disturbances that have arisen. I fully recognize that there are loyal Moplahs who have rendered assistance to the Government during these troublous times and, equally, I feel convinced that the true spirit of Moslem opinion condemns the disgraceful excesses that have been committed professedly under the guise of religious fervour, but which all those who are conversant with the moral principles of the Muhammadan religion know thoroughly well must be and are repudiated and condemned by those who practise the religion and are adherents of the Moslim faith.

I regret that I am unable at this moment to discuss the prosecutions that are now proceeding at Karachi. These matters are *sub judice*: they have passed into the hands of the courts of justice and out of the control of the Executive Government. But I may be permitted to observe in view of some observations in certain sections of the Press, that no greater mistake was ever made and no greater injustice ever done than to assert that these prosecutions are intended as an attack upon the religion of Islam. I find it difficult to believe that men of sane and sober opinion can hold these views, having regard to the events of, let us say, the last two years. Where in the history of freedom has greater liberty been permitted than here in India to those Muhammadans who, basing their exhortations upon the religion of Islam, have nevertheless preached extreme political opinions? The events are too well known to need recapitulation, but in justice to the Government of my predecessor Lord Chelmsford and to those who are associated with me to-day in the Government of India, I assert that there has

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never been greater tolerance displayed or greater liberty permitted. Even shortly after my arrival here I was confronted with a situation which in my opinion was bound to lead to violence and bloodshed; but even then with the full concurrence of my colleagues in the Government and—let me add—with their cordial co-operation I strove for peace and tranquillity. I will say no more at this moment upon this subject, but I ask those who are loud in their denunciation of the Government for pursuing a policy of what is called by them repression, to consider the recent events in India and I have no hesitation in saying that no Government has been surpassed in its manifest desire for peace. Whether it has succeeded is for others to judge.

One word more in reference to observations and criticisms of part of the Press: in the British Empire there are many millions of Moslems; in the British Empire there is no room for intolerance in religious opinion and all religions may be practised with the utmost freedom; in the British Empire there is reverence for all civilized religions. It could never have attained its influence and power but for the religious freedom which is always implied in British rule wherever it may be. My very presence here as Viceroy, appointed by the King-Emperor, is in itself a proof of the religious freedom under the King-Emperor. What ground is there then for the suggestion that any action taken by the Government of India, of which I am the head at present, is directed against a particular religion? No such thought has ever entered into the minds of those who are responsible: no such action could possibly be contemplated by me. Whatever action is taken by the Government is against individuals for alleged infringement of the laws and has no reference to religion whether the Government's view

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is right or wrong is for the Courts to determine. But I would ask you—men of religion and of thought and of responsibility imagining yourselves for a moment either at the head of, or engaged in, the direction of public affairs, whether consistently with the honourable trust reposed in you, and with your reverence for religion and determination to allow complete freedom in religious matters, you could permit political action which would have the effect of disrupting the forces that make for order and of delivering the country into the hands of undisciplined mobs. Those whose duty it is to act under orders in the service of the Crown for the preservation of order, *i.e.*, the police and the military when called upon, are entitled to the protection of the Government against actions which, if successful, would subject these deluded men to grave penalties of the law. It is our duty to protect the State and it is equally our duty to protect the men who are willing to serve the State and to guard them against insidious attempts to mislead them from their honourable duties. If I have dilated at some length upon this subject, it is because I am anxious to place the views of my Government before the public, and, in particular, desire to meet criticism which in most instances, I verily believe, is based upon a complete misapprehension of the motives and actions of Government. Believe me, I seek peace among you all : I want help from you, from those who think with you and from those who are even against you and whose views may conflict with those of Government. I seek assistance from all who desire India's welfare, and in particular, from all who wish to proceed along the path leading to complete self-government in India. Instead of dividing the forces of Indians, let them join with us, the few British, in this country and above all let Hindu and Mussalman unite for India's good let all advocate a policy of reform as

Address of Welcome from the Sri Pratap College at Srinagar.

persistently as they may wish. But let them join together with us whatever may be their political or religious views, to work for the redress of grievances and the development of greater happiness and for that which after all must be, and is, the aim of British and Indians together of all political and religious views—the attainment of that great place in the Councils of Empire and the world that stands so clearly marked out for India in the future!

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE SRI PRATAP COLLEGE AT
SRINAGAR.

16th October
1921.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading, accompanied by the Hon'ble Sir John Wood and the Hon'ble Mr. Denys Bray and their staff left Simla for Kashmir on the 11th October. His Excellency the Viceroy paid a visit to the Sri Pratap College at Srinagar on the 16th, and in replying to an address of welcome said :—

Your Highness, Members of the Education Department, Ladies and Gentlemen.—It has given me very great pleasure, as well as to Her Excellency, to be present here to-day, to have come amongst you and to have received that very cordial welcome in the address which has just been presented to me. It is of the deepest interest to find that there has been such progress made in this educational institution, that having apparently started upon its career so far back only as 1905, it was taken over by the State in 1911, and that His Highness the Maharaja has shown such concern for it is an indication of the interest evinced by him in the education of his subjects. I am particularly attracted by the attention which you have paid in your address to the religious and spiritual and moral side of education, recognising as you do—as all must who

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understand the real meaning and the true mission of education—that it is not merely the learning of history, geography, philosophy or science, but it is in truth the training of the man, which begins with the boy where he has instilled into him the principles to regulate the conduct of his life, and which end by giving him the great advantages we attribute to education. In truth, education is but the training of the mind, and that, when it is combined with religious and moral principles, means making the character. For true as it is that cultivated intellect is one of the most glorious possessions of mankind, it is even more true that it is in his character that is found the instrument of real progress of the world and the mark which he may leave upon it. Your Highness has, as we have learnt, given practical proof of your interest in the education of your subjects, and you have—almost as we stand here—within the last few days promulgated a Constitution from which much will be hoped, and I trust it will have the full effect Your Highness designed for it, that is, to make for the better conditions of your subjects.

Permit me to say on behalf of Her Excellency and myself how much we enjoyed the splendid spectacle when travelling with His Highness on the Jhelum and watching the great crowds of people assembled here. It was a great satisfaction to us to think that we were taking part in this, to us, truly wonderful spectacle; and as we pursued our course along that great waterway of Kashmir, it was in my thoughts—as I am sure it must have been in the minds of many on that day—that to that river is to be attributed so much of the prosperity of Kashmir, but to this thought quickly follows another. In this land of beauty famed throughout the world, of which we have read before we came, and never dreamt that we should be actual

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spectators, there are also difficulties which come to all people ; and here now at this moment during my visit, I know that His Highness with his advisers is devoting anxious consideration to a problem which is of the deepest interest, it is the providing of greater facilities for the supply of food-stuffs to the people. I know that this is in His Highness' thoughts. I know it from his speech with me, and I trust—indeed I feel confident—that it will not be long before His Highness and his advisers will have found the solution of this problem which is fraught with the deepest meaning to the poorer people and will make for their contentment, their prosperity and their happiness.

Let me in conclusion say to you how glad I am to feel that the opportunity has been presented to me of coming to this beautiful city, of enjoying the famed hospitality of His Highness the Maharaja and of seeing for myself some of those spectacles of which we have had pictures presented to us, of seeing you face to face, of learning the lives that you live, and of recognising, as we do, that Kashmir and India are bound up together in their desire for the happiness and prosperity of the people, that Kashmir and the other States also playing their part with British India may look forward to better, brighter and happier days. As time progresses we shall proceed along the lines of education mapped out for you in this and other colleges, in the universities, and in the greatest university of all—the world ; and may it be vouchsafed to us—some playing great parts, some playing smaller parts, some playing infinitesimally minute parts—when we come to lay down our lives that we can individually think of some good we shall have left behind us as the result of the years we have lived

STATE BANQUET AT SRINAGAR.

26th October
1921.

At a State Banquet held at Srinagar on the 26th October in honour of Their Excellencies' visit to Kashmir, His Excellency the Viceroy made the following reply to the toast proposed by His Highness the Maharaja :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I am most grateful to Your Highness for the very kind terms in which you have proposed my health and that of Her Excellency and to you, ladies and gentlemen, for the cordiality with which you have received the toast.

This is my first visit to an Indian State and it has been an experience which neither I nor Her Excellency are ever likely to forget. From the time when Your Highness, with your usual courtesy, met us on the road up to the present moment we have received nothing but the greatest kindness and consideration from Your Highness, your officials and people, and I would ask you all to accept our most cordial thanks. Our entry into this city with Your Highness in the procession on the Jhelum presented a spectacle of picturesque beauty which it will be difficult to surpass. But we were even more impressed by the cordiality of the reception which your people accorded to us, and I trust that I may accept it as an appreciation of the deep interest which the Government of India must always take in Your Highness and your State and your people.

Amid all the beauty of this glorious country, one is tempted to forget for a moment that there are such things as poverty and sorrow. But even here life has not been without its shadows: and the shortage and abnormally high cost of the staple food grains in the city of Srinagar and elsewhere in Kashmir have caused very severe distress to the poorer classes of the people. The problem of reducing high prices and of collecting and bringing the grain into the cities is one of great

State Banquet at Srinagar.

difficulty and complexity and, as Your Highness has said, the measures so far taken, though they have given temporary relief, have not provided a radical cure for the evil. Your Highness, with your long experience of Kashmir, has realised that the only effective remedy is the assumption by the State of complete control and the appointment of an influential and competent Board, directly responsible to Your Highness, which will organise and co-ordinate the various agencies and departments to be employed in the acquisition, transport and distribution of the staple food grains. These measures are the key-stone of the scheme which Your Highness has decided to introduce and as I have learnt this evening, has now actually introduced and I congratulate you most warmly on coming to so wise a decision and I congratulate your people on the beneficent effect it will have. In General Raja Sir Hari Singh as Senior Member of the Board, Your Highness has selected a man of commanding influence, wide experience and strong personality, whose interests are bound up with yours and those of the people of this country, and the names of Mr. Glancy and Pandit Narindra Nath Koul will, I feel sure, command equal confidence. Their task will not be an easy one. There will be legislation to be undertaken in order to enforce the State control of the produce, to constitute summary courts, and to prevent the holding up of stocks; special tribunals will be needed also for settling the payment by instalments of debts due from the villagers to the *waddars*; and special arrangements will have to be made for facilitating the transport of grain from the villages into the cities.

In meeting these and other urgent requirements, Your Highness should find in the Board of Control a most efficient

State Banquet at Srinagar.

instrument and I am glad to know that you have decided to give them ample powers for dealing with the situation. I am sure that we all wish them success in their high mission, and we hope and believe that the wise measures Your Highness has determined to introduce will lead to a final and happy solution of this most difficult problem. Her Highness the Maharani has also by her generous gift shown her care and regard for the poor.

Your Highness has also alluded to your recent inauguration of an Executive Council to assist you in the administration of the State and with instructions to devote themselves, as one of their first duties, to the framing of a scheme for a representative Assembly. A High Court with three Judges is also about to be brought into being. These measures will, I am sure, have the effect of improving the administrative and judicial machinery of the State and will have the advantage of associating the various communities of Jammu and Kashmir with the working of the State machine. I trust that the great decentralisation in work will afford a welcome relief to Your Highness and conduce to the greater welfare and contentment of your people.

I need not say that both in the working of these reforms and also in dealing with the *shali* question, Your Highness will always find in me and in my Resident a sincere friend on whose advice and support you may confidently rely.

My visit and Her Excellency's, with those who have had the good fortune to accompany us, will always remain fresh in our memories as a lasting record of the charming delights of this country and of the generous hospitality of Your

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Highness. I am very glad indeed that it is during my visit that Your Highness has decided upon the promulgation of measures which will render your name glorious in the annals of this State, and will cause you ever to be remembered with gratitude and affection by your people. Your Highness' action in respect of *shali*, taking at this moment when I am staying in your State, will of itself permanently remain in my mind as the result of Your Highness' thoughtfulness, consideration and solicitude for the welfare of your people. It is the poor who always stand most in need of the care of their Ruler, and Your Highness has shown that you have their well-being uppermost in your mind.

I will not dwell here on the services rendered by the Kashmir State in the Great War, since they have already been fully recognised and acknowledged both by the Government of India and by His Majesty the King-Emperor. I will only say that the Kashmir State was second to none in the efficiency of its troops ; the generosity of its contributions and, above all, in the supply of fighting men to the armies which fought in the cause of justice and freedom.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will have an opportunity, during his visit to Jammu, of seeing some of Your Highness' troops who did such valiant service at the front, and of conveying his congratulations to you personally. I wish that it were possible for His Royal Highness to make a longer stay but owing to his many engagements, this is, I regret to say, impracticable. I shall, however, have much pleasure in conveying your loyal message to His Royal Highness and assuring him of a loyal and hearty welcome from Your Highness and your people on his visit to Jammu.

Opening of the Second Session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is now my pleasant task to propose the toast of our popular and distinguished host His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir. Those of you who have spent your lives in Kashmir or have been otherwise associated with His Highness in his daily life, will be able to speak more fully than I can of the many virtues which have made him beloved of his people and of all who have been brought into contact with him :—virtues which have raised his State to the same level as that of the highest in the Indian Empire, and have earned for him personally the rank of Lieutenant-General and the Grand Commandership of the Star of India, the Indian Empire and the Order of the British Empire. I also, though my acquaintance with His Highness has been so short, have learned to appreciate his shrewdness, his kindness of heart and lavish generosity, and above all his deep-seated loyalty and devotion to the Crown and the British Government.

I must add for myself and Her Excellency that the very cordial invitation of His Highness that we should again visit Kashmir and Jammu and stay at least four weeks is very tempting and I trust that it may be possible for me again to come here in response to His Highness' expressed desire.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join with me in drinking the health of His Highness Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, and in wishing him all happiness and prosperity.

7th November 1921.

OPENING OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES AT DELHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy inaugurated the Second Session of the Chamber of Princes (Narendra Mandal) on the 7th November in the Assembly Hall, Delhi, and delivered the following speech :—

Your Highnesses.—Two months ago, as the Representative of His Majesty, I opened for the first time during my period of

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office the two great constitutional Chambers of the British Indian Legislature. To-day it is my pleasant duty to open the Second Session of the Chamber of Princes. In so doing I act as the Representative of His Majesty and am privileged to convey to you as partners in the Empire his good wishes for the success of your deliberations. But I cannot forget that, as Viceroy, I stand in a relation of special intimacy to your Chamber as I have the honour to be your President and the right to take part in your discussions. I trust that this bond between us may increase the mutual esteem and regard that have hitherto characterised the relations between the Viceroy and the Princes and which are continued on my side and I hope also on yours. May our association in this Chamber be fruitful of benefit to your Order, to your subjects, to British India, and to the Empire. That was the four-fold object His Majesty set before us in his Proclamation, made when the Chamber was inaugurated on his behalf by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. I know of no more fitting aim. Let us pray that we may attain it.

Since the Chamber last met, we have lost two of our members by death, His Highness the Mir of Khairpur and His Highness the Raja of Dharampur. I am glad to welcome their successors who have taken their seats to-day.

The attendance is not perhaps so large as some of us hoped. Some of the Princes have absented themselves because they are going to Bombay or are coming to Delhi later on to welcome His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Some are in Europe and one whose absence I specially regret, His Highness the Maharaja of Cutch, has been detained there by his duties as one of the representatives of India on the League of Nations.

Opening of the Second Session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

This year will be memorable in Indian history as the year of two Royal visits. As Your Highnesses know, His Majesty originally intended that the inaugural ceremony of this Chamber should be performed by his eldest son, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. But conditions of health made it necessary to postpone the visit, and by His Majesty's command His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught came in the Prince's stead. I need not recall to Your Highnesses the historic occasion when His Royal Highness declared the Chamber duly constituted, or the inspiring words in which he addressed the assembled Princes. Those are memories that will be with you always. Although I was not present my pulses tingled and my mind was stimulated and exalted by the study of the sentiments expressed by those of you who were privileged to take part in the historic ceremony. We are now meeting again for the Second Session in the Chamber in the knowledge that the promise of the Prince's visit to India is to be fulfilled, and that he will set foot on Indian soil for the first time less than a fortnight hence.

Ever since the Government of India passed from the East India Company to the Crown, the Heir to the Throne has honoured this country with a visit, but I speak without fear of contradiction or misunderstanding when I say that no other Prince of Wales has more completely established himself at so early an age in the general heart of the Empire (applause). The Prince had barely attained the age of manhood when the war broke out, and all through the long struggle he shared, as a subordinate officer, the hardships and perils that his fellow subjects were enduring, that he might one day reign over them. It was a princely hazard, and princely was the use he made of it. Some of Your Highnesses who have already been privileged to make His Royal Highness acquaintance will understand what

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those qualities are which have endeared him to all and have gained for him the appellation of First Ambassador of the Empire. Speaking in this Chamber, I will merely say that I am convinced that the effect of his visit to India will be to bind the Princes of India still more closely to the Throne.

The visit, as Your Highnesses already know, will be more or less informal, and ceremony will be reduced to a minimum. For this purpose you have dispensed with the exchange of visits which otherwise would have formed part of the ceremonies associated with a visit of the Prince of Wales to India. But although these formal visits are omitted it is not intended to detract, and must not hereafter be regarded as having detracted, from the traditional courtesies following upon long-established precedent due to the Princes of India on such occasions. The departure in this instance from the normal procedure is due solely to the desire to make the visit of the Prince of Wales, who has already borne heavy burdens in his mission of Empire, as easy as possible, and I gratefully acknowledge your appreciation of the circumstances and your readiness to facilitate the achievement of our purpose. A large portion of His Royal Highness' time will be spent on visits to some of the principal States and, as he moves about the country, other Princes and Chiefs whose States it has not been found possible to include in the tour will have opportunities of making acquaintance with their future Emperor. I feel sure that this arrangement is the best that could have been made. His Royal Highness will get to know a number of Your Highnesses as individuals and as private friends, and he will acquire an insight into your life and surroundings, your aspirations and difficulties, undimmed by excess of ceremony and officialism.

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One of the items on the agenda relates to the appointment of a Committee to consider the form which the Chamber's welcome to the Prince shall take, but I feel confident that, long before you assemble to offer His Royal Highness a formal welcome, the regard that you all feel for him will have deepened into personal attachment to one whose charm has become a proverb in every country he has visited.

His Royal Highness' visit comes, I think, at an opportune moment. Conditions are changing rapidly. The India of the Armistice is not even the India of to-day. The reform of the Government of British India has been accompanied by a fresh adjustment of our relations with the States. And it is well that the Prince should see for himself something of the change which has come over the spirit of India, and the promise of a new, and let us hope a better, life. In that promise the States too have their share. Few things have impressed me more than the great progress that has been made during the past few years in the direction of giving the States an organic unity and equipping the new organism with the beginnings of a constitution. The old policy of rigid isolation has been abandoned. You meet in a common Chamber for purposes of joint deliberation. Under the charter of your Chamber which you yourselves helped to draft, the Princes as a body are recognized as the advisers of His Majesty's representatives and of the Government of the Crown. Your weight in our councils is the weight of your united strength and that strength will grow with its exercise.

Your Chancellor and the Standing Committee had two meetings after the close of last session, and since then papers have been circulated to them in regard to all matters which were coming before the Chamber. The result of their labours is to be

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found in the reports and summaries dealing with mining concessions, telegraphs, the acquisition of non-residential immovable property in British India, and railways which form items IV, VI, IX and X on the agenda.

These summaries, Your Highnesses will understand, represent the considered opinion of the Standing Committee as to the policy the Government of India should pursue in these matters. After the Chamber has recorded its views it will be for my Government to take them into consideration and to make an announcement regarding the policy which will in future be followed. But before such announcement can be made it will be necessary for my Government to discuss the revised summaries with Local Governments and in some cases perhaps to make a reference to the Secretary of State. I will not say any more at present on the subjects dealt with in these summaries. To be perfectly frank, I have not yet had occasion fully to study for myself the issues raised and I shall listen with great interest to Your Highnesses discussion of them.

The two last items of business on the programme are the election of the Chancellor and the Standing Committee for the coming year. These offices are no sinecure, and the Chamber has, I think, been fortunate in the selections it made last February to fill them. The bulk of the work has naturally fallen on the Chancellor, and we are all of us deeply grateful to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner for the efficient and business-like manner in which, in spite of ill-health, he has discharged his duties. He has set a noble example to those who come after him.

The members of the Standing Committee have also served you well, though their duties are naturally less arduous than

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those of the Chancellor, and to them as well as to him you will, I have no doubt, desire to express your gratitude.

I now leave the agenda list for a moment to refer to certain other matters which are of interest to the Rulers of Indian States, though they do not appear among the subjects for discussion. They are three in number—

- (1) the Fiscal Commission ;
- (2) the reorganization of the forces of Indian States, and
- (3) the protection of Rulers of States against attacks in the Press and on the platform in British India.

I shall be very brief in my remarks on all three subjects.

Your Highnesses have already received intimation of the appointment of the Fiscal Commission, and copies of the *questionnaire*. The question is one of joint concern to British India and the States as, though the revenue from customs is a British Indian receipt, the effect of the fiscal system adopted by Government is felt throughout India, and I trust that at any rate those Durbars whose commercial interests are considerable will give the Commission the benefit of their views. The Commission which has been appointed is a strong one. It will consider among other matters the question of a protective tariff for India. This question is one of prime importance both for consumers and for manufacturers in the States as well as in British India.

The scheme for the reorganization of State troops is progressing rapidly. The Inspector-General, Imperial Service Troops, with a specially selected staff officer, has already made an extensive tour through the States which now maintain Imperial Service Troops and a number of others which are

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anxious to take advantage of the new proposals. The scheme is based largely on suggestions made by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar. He asked Government to start with the assumption that in time of emergency all the resources of the Indian States in men, money and material would be placed at the disposal of the British Government. Your Highnesses are in possession of the first draft of the proposals, and I think you will all agree that the dominant note of the new policy is one of trust—a trust, I may add, increased by comradeship in battle that was tried and not found wanting.

Practical experience in working out the scheme has, I understand, suggested certain alterations, and the proposals as they now stand are to be discussed by a Committee of Princes and certain of my officers during the present session. What we have to aim at is greater efficiency, both in organization and in armament, while with a view to give Your Highnesses' troops a new sphere of activity, they are being offered a definite part in the general scheme of internal security.

The third question is one which has, I fear, been giving Your Highnesses some anxious thought during the past summer. The Press Act is the only statutory weapon we possess for the protection of Princes against attacks from the Press in British India. It is an instrument which was devised for our own protection as well as for yours, and it has been used for both purposes. My Government has, however, now decided, after full deliberation, to discard it on grounds which have been publicly explained. Your Highnesses will realise that it would have been difficult to retain for the benefit of the members of your Order a measure of law which was thought unnecessary for His Majesty the King. The grant to Your Highnesses

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of protection in another form is a matter which will require careful consideration. I alluded to the question in my speech at the opening of the Houses of the Legislature on the 3rd September, and I refer to it again to-day to give Your Highnesses an assurance that it is still engaging my most earnest attention. And as I observed, it will form the subject of a Resolution to be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar during the course of the deliberations of your Chamber. I shall look forward with the greatest interest to the debate which will take place upon the subject, as it will inform my mind and will assist me in coming to conclusions as to the course that should be followed by the Government of India in this respect.

I will now return, if you will allow me, for a brief space before I close, to the agenda list of the session. There is one item on the list which is so significant, so arresting, so typical of the change that the war has wrought, that I feel driven to dwell for a moment on the thoughts it suggests. I refer—need I say it?—to the first item on the programme, the report which His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar is to present in regard to his work on the League of Nations. I shall not anticipate what His Highness will tell you. I merely ask you to run your memory back to the beginning of the war and to compare your position, the position of your Order, then and now. Then, your States were isolated units, separate entities. You had no tie, no common organization, no collective organ of expression. Not only were you shut out from the world of international affairs, but you had no recognized method of ascertaining each other's views on matters affecting the States in general. Now you have your Chamber, and one of your members is chosen as a representative on the League of Nations.

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That, Your Highnesses, is reform in one of its aspects, the creation of a new order of things, strengthening your position, advancing your dignity. But as your horizon widens, new ideas emerge into view. You cannot exclude them. Events are compelling the study of the workings of forms of Government other than your own, and the effects which certain forces seem almost inevitably to produce on the beliefs, the feelings and the aspirations of the great masses of mankind.

That, Your Highnesses, brings us to reform in another of its aspects, reform as an answer to the awakened consciousness of the people. These forces cannot be bidden to halt. They must be faced and dealt with. I know full well that you have already reflected deeply upon them and that they will continue to engage your attention, so that when they present themselves to you for solution you may know the answer you wish to make.

Reform, as it affects Your Highnesses, has two aspects—one affecting your relations with the British Government in India, and the other your relations with your own people. I am sure that Your Highnesses will already have realised that the place of the Indian States in the India of the future is a problem which it is difficult to solve and requires much thought. It must engage the attention of all Your Highnesses. For the present I will merely ask Your Highnesses to ponder the problem and to look ahead. We shall need your counsel.

As regards the second aspect of the problem, you will remember that my predecessor, Lord Chelmsford, referred to the subject of internal reform in the States in his speech at the opening of the Conference in November 1919. That advice was given by one who was a sincere well-wisher of your Order. I

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shall not at this early period of my Viceroyalty attempt to add to it. I merely remind you of it. Lord Chelmsford, though he was so largely responsible for the Reforms in British India, made no suggestion that you should copy them. The time and the place and the manner of change, if change there is to be, are in your hands. But the forces with which you have to deal are live forces. They need and they deserve careful study wherever they are at work. May you be guided to deal with them prudently and well.

I have dealt at length on the great changes which have taken place in Your Highnesses' position of recent years. The services rendered by you during the War are a matter of glorious history. His Majesty has been graciously pleased to bestow marks of his favour on many individual members of your Order, but to-day I am authorised by him to announce the grant of a further privilege. For the future, except at installations and investitures, where local custom will continue to be followed, His Imperial Majesty has been pleased to dispense with the presentation of nazars at ceremonial visits or receptions, either to himself or to the members of his family or to any of his officers to whom it has hitherto been customary to present them.

And now, Your Highnesses, we shall proceed to our deliberations. I shall value your counsel, particularly of those Princes who are experienced in the administration of their States. As the Representative of the King-Emperor, it is my special duty, as it is my privilege to confer with you who wield the power and bear the responsibility of ruling over your States, whose honourable loyalty and devotion to the King-Emperor are now both traditional and indisputable, and I trust—indeed, I am convinced—that mutual advantage will result and that our com-

Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

bined efforts may add lustre to the history of India. And here at this moment when for the first time it falls to my lot to address the Princes of India assembled in this Chamber, let me assure you that I regard it as an honour and a privilege, that I look to you whose history in many respects is well known to me, as it is to all students of India, to assist me, as I know you will, to the best of your ability in discharging the gravely onerous task which has been placed upon my shoulders. The India of to-day is perhaps not easy to govern.

I have referred in the earlier part of my address to you to forces that have arisen that cannot be disregarded, but must indeed be considered rather as the natural outcome of human progress and which no human agency can ever hold back, and it behoves us—I speak of us, that is, you the Princes of India, and myself as the Representative of the King-Emperor and the head of the Government of India—to do our utmost to so guide the counsels of those who are at the head of affairs in India that we may be privileged to do our best, one and all of us, in our own spheres, at our own time and in our own actions; to do, above all, that which we believe to be right, to persist in it notwithstanding that it may be adversely criticised, to ponder over the comments that may be made, to judge of all the counsels that may be given, but in the end to take the burden upon ourselves of doing what we honestly, earnestly and sincerely believe to be the right course to be followed.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE TALUQDARS OF OUDH.

12th November 1921.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, on the 12th November, and in reply said:—

Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me to receive this deputation of the Taluqdars of Oudh. Although as you say the

Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

presentation of your address has been delayed, it does not seem to have cooled the ardour or weakened the force of your sentiments. Permit me to thank you very warmly for the observations you have made regarding myself personally. The expression of your views will act as an encouragement to me in the performance of the manifold duties that I have undertaken. In the onerous task which it has pleased His Majesty to entrust to me it is a stimulus to my energies and activities to receive your assurance that I and my Government can count on the whole-hearted support of the great landlords o' Oudh. The loyalty of the Taluqdars has always been unquestioned and unquestionable; it was notably manifested during the great crisis of the war when, as you justly observed, they rallied as a body to the side of the Government and placed the resources of their estates at its disposal; and I entertain no doubt that now when critical problems of another order have arisen, when efforts are being assiduously made to sap the foundations of law and order, to undermine the respect for authority and to subvert the constituted government of the country, the Government can rely with equal confidence on your support and assistance. I note with especial satisfaction your assurance that you, the Taluqdars of Oudh, are devotedly loyal and attached to His Imperial Majesty's person and Throne as were your forefathers before you and that you are eagerly awaiting the arrival of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to welcome him with that enthusiasm which the Taluqdars of Oudh may be relied upon to manifest to the Heir-Apparent of the Imperial Throne. I do not doubt that these views are shared by the vast majority of the Indian people, whose courtesy and hospitality have become traditional. I have heard with deep regret that misapprehensions are said to exist in certain quarters with regard to this

Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

visit of His Royal Highness. I have heard it suggested that I and my Government are seeking to utilise the visit of the Prince for political purposes of our own, and that we shall endeavour to represent the warmth of the reception accorded to His Royal Highness by the people as demonstrating the absence of any political grievances and the satisfaction of the people of India with present conditions. It has been brought to my knowledge that arguments are being used to spread the notion that I and my Government intend to exploit the visit of His Royal Highness as a means of disguising from the British public and the world the real feelings and attitude of the Indian people on political questions. It may be that some are genuinely apprehensive lest a warm reception of the Prince might be used for these purposes. I regret also that there are some who wish to stir up popular feeling against the Prince's visit and it may be that they are responsible for disseminating those notions. I desire with all the authority at my command emphatically to repudiate these suggestions, and to assure the Indian people that neither I nor my Government have ever had the faintest intention of using His Royal Highness' visit for political purposes. I and my Government formed the opinion that the visit of the Prince to India should take place this year in accordance with the statements that were made when the first promised visit was postponed, and this view was based upon grounds that must be obvious to everyone who has the welfare of India at heart, even though there may be disagreement as to the methods by which that welfare is to be attained. Had I and my Government adopted any other attitude our action would inevitably have produced in the minds of the British public and of the peoples of the Dominions impressions that would have reacted very unfavourably on the friendly relations between India and

Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

other parts of the Empire, and at a time when I attach the utmost importance to the growth in strength of these relations, to establishing them on a permanent basis and to cementing them with sympathy and affection. I fully acknowledge that there are many matters of public policy upon which serious and even acute difference of opinion obtain in this country. I and my Government have always been and still are most desirous of reconciling these differences and solving these problems. But the Prince of Wales stands apart from and above all such political controversies. His Royal Highness' visit to India is in accordance with the precedent set by his august father and grand-father, and he comes to India as the heir to the Throne and the future Emperor of India, and in that capacity alone. His reception will not be a test of opinions that may be held on the political problems and differences of the day, but will be a test of the loyalty and attachment of the people of India towards the Crown itself. Loyalty to the King-Emperor is independent of the political issues and controversies of India. It is a banner under which all should serve irrespective of political opinions and the opportunity presents itself for this manifestation by the arrival of His Royal Highness upon the shores of India.

I deeply regret the loss of the eminent men to whom you have referred, but I feel assured that in your ranks others will be found to follow their example and to lead your community in the path which it has always trod—that of loyalty to the Crown and readiness to co-operate with the Government in its efforts to promote the welfare of India.

You have referred in the course of your address to the thorny issues connected with the law of landlord and tenant in Oudh. These issues have been the subject of prolonged debate in the

Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

Legislative Council of your province, criticism and discussion in the public press and among political leaders and parties. The Bill in which the final decisions of the Council are embodied will come before me in due course under the provisions of the Government of India Act and you will realise therefore that it is not possible for me at this juncture and on this occasion to express any opinion thereon. I will only say that I have never believed in conflicts of classes which do not admit of a reasonable solution; that in my judgment the prosperity of Oudh, a province so predominantly agricultural in character, is essentially dependent on harmonious relations between the landlords and tenants, and that it is my earnest hope that whatever changes are made in the law will be such as to benefit both classes and to facilitate that close co-operation between them on which the interests of both alike are dependent. Without entering into discussion with you upon the observations in your address regarding the status of the relations between yourselves and the Government of India, I have observed with interest and satisfaction your readiness to agree to an extension of the law relating to landlord and tenant, which I gather was at the instance of His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler and led to the introduction of the Bill which has just passed and has formed the subject of so much controversy.

You have also touched on the question of a permanent settlement. Here again you will not expect me to express on this occasion an opinion on a matter which not only affects the administration of a provincial subject and the revenues of a provincial Government, but also involves a fundamental change in the general principles of land-revenue policy throughout the country as well as the country's finances. I would point out

Address of Welcome from the Punjab Chamber of Commerce.

however that it has hitherto been the policy of the State to assert its claims—a claim insisted on by all its predecessors in the past—to a share in the growing increment of the land and that any proposals for a revision of that policy—and none such are at present before my Government—will naturally require the most careful and prolonged investigation both by the Local Government which is primarily concerned and by the Government of India.

I note with pleasure your observations respecting His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler. I know from my own intercourse with him how profound an interest he takes in all the concerns of Oudh, and particularly in establishing good relations based upon the modern spirit between the landlords and tenants.

Gentlemen, I am grateful to you for attending here to-day and presenting me with this address.

26th November 1921.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE PUNJAB CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE.

In replying to an Address of Welcome from the Punjab Chamber of Commerce at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, on the 26th November, His Excellency the Viceroy said:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I thank you on behalf of Lady Reading as well as myself for the very cordial welcome you have tendered to us on taking up our residence in Delhi. I am especially grateful to you for the confidence in me expressed by your members. It encourages me in the handling of the difficult and delicate problems of administration in India which perhaps were never of greater moment.

Address of Welcome from the Punjab Chamber of Commerce.

I observe that in the very forefront of your address to-day you lay stress upon the loss of the privilege of independent representation in any of the legislatures of the country and, in particular, you have referred to the question of your representation in the central and local legislatures. As you are aware, your views on this matter were laid last year before the Reforms Commissioner (Sir William Marris) and were subsequently communicated by the Government of India to the Secretary of State. The rules as finally passed by Parliament did not, however, accord to you the increased representation for which you asked, and although I recognise that the grounds on which you have based your claim for a separate seat on the local Legislative Council are not without force, I cannot in view of the pronouncement of the Joint Committee that the franchise as settled by the rules should not be altered for the first ten years, hold out to you any hopes of an early revision of the rules. At the same time I have no doubt that if and when the rules are revised, your claims for increased representation on the local Legislative Council will be fully considered. As regards representation on the Indian legislature, the position is different. Indian commerce is represented in the Assembly and European commerce in the Councils of State and, as I think you will readily recognise, having regard to the limited membership of the Council of State, the three seats allotted by the rules are as many as could properly be provided. These seats have been assigned to the three chambers, which admittedly represent the largest commercial interests, and although your chamber is thus without separate representation in the Council, its position in this respect does not differ from that of the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Upper India Chamber of Commerce. I am glad, however, to have heard your views and am very conscious of the important

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Address of Welcome from the Punjab Chamber of Commerce.

interests represented by your chamber. I need scarcely assure you that I shall not fail to bear them in mind in all matters affecting trade and industry. I observe also that you lay stress upon the importance in the interests of commercial development, of improving the communications of Delhi and with as many sea ports as is possible. I am entirely in accord with you, not only in the observations you make to-day, but in the underlying significance of your references to the development of transport as an ancillary, sometimes a preliminary, to the development of trade and sometimes a consequence of it. The subject is of far-reaching importance, but you concentrate your attention to-day upon the desired improvement of the connection of Delhi with Karachi with the object of attaining a more direct broad-gauge railway connection between Delhi and Karachi. The Government of India fully recognise the great desirability of establishing such a connection between Karachi and the important trade centres of the United Provinces and Delhi. Various alternative routes for the western section of such a connection up to Gungapur have already been examined, and it is proposed to have the eastern section investigated during this cold weather. The scheme, however, is an extensive one touching many interests and involving many issues of political and economic importance; moreover, the financing of such a big project under existing conditions is a matter of considerable difficulty, when there are so many other important and pressing demands to be met. The materialisation of the project as a whole will, therefore, take some time.

Government fully recognise the necessity for providing additional facilities on open lines for the movement of a greater volume of traffic than can now be dealt with, and the Railway Board are devoting their available funds chiefly to this end.

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Both the questions of new construction and of open line improvements referred to by the Chamber are mainly matters of finance ; and as the Chamber is aware, this subject has only recently been under examination by the Railway Committee whose Report is now before the Government, and receiving most careful study and consideration. In my judgment there is no subject affecting the commerce and prosperity of India which transcends in importance that of the improvement of railway communications. Your reference to the lack of suitable facilities for the supply of coal and the greater need of railway sidings is only one although a very important aspect of this larger question.

In this connection it is natural that you should lay stress upon the potentialities of water-power to reduce the strain on the railways and provide a cheap industrial power. This subject has also engaged the attention of the Government of India. In 1918 the Government of India undertook a survey of the whole of India and Burma to investigate the possibilities of water-power, but since the introduction of the new constitutional reforms, water-power and electricity have been administered by Local Governments and are now beyond the control of the Government of India. It is, however, known to the Government of India that Colonel Battey, who is an expert in Hydro-Electric engineering, has prepared a project for the Sutlej scheme, and it is believed that he is now in America studying there some of the problems arising out of his investigations and acquiring a first-hand knowledge of up-to-date Hydro-Electric installations. The Government of India watch with the greatest interest the development of water-power, realising as they do, on the investigations already made, the

Address of Welcome from the Punjab Chamber of Commerce.

immense possibilities in store, but the prosecution of such schemes now rests entirely with the Local Governments.

I am obliged to you for your appreciative reference to the import of wheat from abroad. Not only is my Government now obtaining from abroad all supplies of wheat required for the Army in India, but we have also done our best to arrange similar import on private account while offering to permit the export of flour equal in weight to half the wheat actually brought in. In this way we have sought both to increase the food resources of the country, and to assist the flour milling industry. You may be interested to learn that 60,000 tons of privately imported wheat have already arrived and that, so far as my information goes, about 110,000 tons are to arrive during the course of the next five or six weeks. My Government is fully aware of the political importance of reasonably cheap food and I rejoice to see that the autumn harvest, which in many parts of India is a bounteous one, has already done much to lower the prices of those grains which are reaped at the present season of the year. Wheat has been sown under very favourable conditions and I hope that its price will soon show a similar reduction.

Generally, I trust that the favourable monsoon will have the effect of reducing the price of food to the masses of the people, and thus produce greater contentment.

I cannot part from you to-day without a brief reference to the political conditions of India at this moment. I shall not pause to analyse them, but you are an important commercial deputation and you are well aware that your interests, both patriotic and individual, lie in the direction of securing greater happiness and prosperity among the people. You desire this

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not only for your own purposes as men of business, but from higher motives and a loftier aim, that is for the welfare of the people. For this purpose if you wish to develop material prosperity, and in that way, to ensure tranquillity and contentment, it is essential—indeed, it is axiomatic—that order must be maintained and that peace must be preserved. Without order there is no confidence and there can be no material prosperity unless there is confidence in the security and tranquillity of the people. I wish to take this opportunity of impressing upon you that the Government of India will spare no effort to protect peaceful law-abiding citizens against violence, or coercion, or intimidation or other breaches of law. I shall not dilate upon this subject, but there is to-day a natural and legitimate desire on the part of the vast majority of the people that the law should be respected and observed. I cannot but think that in some quarters there is a misconception of the position. The Government of India are very conscious of their power and their strength and they have, I verily believe, the support of all law-abiding citizens of India. It cannot fairly be said that we have abused this power ; indeed, we are sometimes criticised for not having sufficiently exerted it, and I readily admit that we have sought to avoid action which might either be misconceived or misrepresented as too severe or as provocative. But recent events have made it imperative that the full strength of the Government should, if necessary, be exerted for the purpose of vindicating the law and preserving order. In some quarters—I shall not designate them, they are too well-known—intimidation and consequent coercion, which is only another form of violence and is of course unlawful, were practised, and it must be said with considerable effect. This conduct cannot be permitted and must be stopped. Proper precautions will be adopted and all necessary steps taken to protect the peaceful citizen

Address of Welcome from the Moslem Community of Delhi.

to give him that security to which he is entitled and to bring the wrong doer to justice. The peaceful citizen wishes to carry on his own business, his own pursuits, his own avocations without improper interference or molestation by others with whom he may not be in agreement. We have no desire to interfere with the lawful activities of political parties, however opposed to us. But although that is our view, and although we are most anxious, as I have repeatedly said, to redress all legitimate grievances and to remove the grounds of popular discontent, yet we cannot allow any political activity to impose its will upon the country by violence, intimidation, coercion or other unlawful means. I have therefore taken this opportunity of telling you what is in this respect in the minds of the Government of India and of assuring you that the Government, of which I have no doubt you are keen critics, will use its efforts to ensure that every man may carry on his lawful pursuits in his own way and at his own will; and you may rest satisfied that all necessary steps for this purpose will be taken. There are many other aspects of the internal political situation which are engaging the attention of the Government, but I have confined myself to-day to that aspect which must particularly affect you, members of a Chamber of Commerce.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your address.

30th November 1921.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MOSLEM COMMUNITY
OF DELHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Moslem Community of Delhi at Viceregal Lodge on the 30th November, and in reply said:—

Gentlemen,—I thank you warmly for the welcome to Delhi you have kindly extended to me and Her Excellency and for

Address of Welcome from the Moslem Community of Delhi.

the opportunity you have taken of presenting in emphatic but in courteous terms the views which the Moslem community of Delhi and His Majesty's Mussalman subjects in India hold relating to the terms of the Treaty of Sevres. Ever since I became connected with India I have been impressed by the intensity of Muhammadan feeling in India regarding the terms of this treaty. Immediately upon my appointment the Secretary of State and I had lengthy discussions upon this most important subject. You are well aware that you have in him a very staunch and faithful supporter of Indian Moslem opinion. Throughout the various representations that have been made from India, to some of which you refer in your address to me, I noted at every turn how strenuously and devotedly my predecessor, Lord Chelmsford, had laboured with the Secretary of State in the cause of Moslem India. Since my arrival here the subject has never been absent from my mind and I have endeavoured, and with the invariable support of my Government, to impress your views upon His Majesty's Government and to endorse them as fully as it lay in my power. There must always be great sympathy for those who seek to remedy what they conscientiously believe is an injustice to their religion, and this sympathy is never denied by the British with their love of justice and complete freedom in religious matters: and I beg you not to think that the Indian Muhammadan representations based upon their religious sentiments have fallen on deaf ears: indeed, a moment's reflection will prove the contrary, for the events of this year must be still fresh in the memory. I need only refer to-day to the deputation of Indian Moslems that waited upon the Prime Minister in London in the earlier part of the year, and to the modifications of the treaty that were then favoured by him. You will also remember the proposals

Address of Welcome from the Moslem Community of Delhi.

made at the London Conference to bring about a lasting and equitable peace. Had these been accepted, they might not have satisfied all your wishes, but they would have constituted very important modifications in favour of Turkey. Unfortunately, hostilities were continued, and peace has even yet not been made, between Turkey and Greece. It is, I am afraid, no consolation to reflect that all this trouble has followed upon the unhappy entry of Turkey into the Great War, and I shall not dwell upon it: neither shall I dwell upon the loyalty and devotion of Indian Muhammadans during the war and on their gallant services, save to observe that the Indian Muhammadans may justly pray these in aid when seeking recognition of Indian Moslem opinion in the settlement of Turkish peace.

I note with especial satisfaction your appreciation of the past and present efforts of the Government of India to bring home to the British Cabinet the depth and intensity of Indian Muhammadan feeling aroused by the Turkish treaty, and by the failure up to the present moment to bring its terms more into harmony with the sentiment of the Indian Moslem world. I am fully conscious of the responsibility that devolves upon me and my Government to continue to press your views upon His Majesty's Government and to do my utmost to make them effective. I can assure you that the gratitude you express indicative of your appreciation of our efforts in this respect will be an encouragement to us in the future. Notwithstanding this recognition you however observe that the Government of India's efforts cannot be a source of comfort to Indian Mussalmans unless some effective result is obtained. This view has been presented to me on various occasions in many conversations I have had with leading Muhammadans, and I have felt the force of it. I sympathise with your sense of disappointment and wish I could

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completely relieve it. But although I cannot, for obvious reasons, make definite assertions regarding results that may be achieved in the future, yet I feel that I should give you such indications as are open to me and which may, and I hope will, prove of assistance to you. You will understand that I am speaking of a complex international problem which has still to be solved, and that its solution does not rest with me or my Government, save in so far as the situation may be affected by our representations of your views and powerfully endorsed by the Secretary of State in the British Cabinet. But neither does the solution of the problem rest with Great Britain alone : if it did, the conflict would long since have terminated. The British Empire has every reason to wish for peace between Turkey and Greece. Britain's position has been that of strict neutrality, and in spite of malevolent rumour I trust you will have no doubts upon this subject. She has always been ready to lend her good offices to bring about an end of the war. The attempts hitherto made have unhappily not yet produced definite results, but there are indications that the time is not far distant when the meeting to settle terms of peace must take place. The peace His Majesty's Government desire is a fair and equitable peace which will pay due regard to the religious sentiments of Moslems. You emphasise the objections of Indian Moslems in particular to the international control over Constantinople, the grant of Smyrna and Thrace to Greece and the abolition of the religious suzerainty of the Kaliph over the Holy Places of Islam, and it is, as I understand it, with the view of securing the modification of these terms of the Treaty of Sevres that you have waited upon me to-day and presented this address. If I do not discuss these particular problems at any length, let me assure you it is not for lack of sympathy with your views. All that you have placed

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before me will again be represented to His Majesty's Government with the full authority of my Government. I can assure you that I have already done my utmost to urge these modifications and have used, and shall continue to use, such influence as I may possess to make them effective. But I would ask you to remember that the Prime Minister in answer to the deputation in London, and the Secretary of State in his telegram to Dr. Ansari, have already stated their views in favour of freeing Constantinople from the international control imposed after the war with reservations as to the internationalisation of the Straits both in the interests of Turkey and of general peace. Again, and from the same source, it is apparent that His Majesty's Government have not failed to recognise the importance to Moslems of the religious suzerainty of the Kaliph over the Holy Places of Islam. As regards Smyrna and Thrace do not think that your representations in this, or in any respect, are of no avail. They have already borne fruit as I have shown you, and I trust that when the terms are eventually made you will find that the views of the Indian Moslems have played a greater part than perhaps you have hitherto imagined in fashioning the treaty, and more especially in its relation to the religious sentiments and aspirations of Moslems. It may be that all that you would wish cannot be achieved. There are difficulties upon which I shall not dwell but which must be apparent to you and to all who are interested in this question. Whatever the result you may rest assured that not only have you and your fellow Moslems in India striven with intensity of conviction and religious fervour for the benefit of Moslems and the Moslem religion, but you have certainly secured the sympathetic support of my Government. These continued representations by the Government of India have not failed as I verily believe, to have effect upon the British Government.

Address of Welcome from the Municipal and District Board of Benares.

They might have acquired even greater strength, but for the agitation of Extremists who seem to labour under the delusion that revolutionary agitation will give better results than powerfully reasoned arguments temperately but forcibly urged by leading men of your community.

Your congratulations on the successful conclusion of the negotiations with Afghanistan are very welcome. We rejoice that as a result of the negotiations a treaty has been made with the independent Moslem Kingdom of Afghanistan based upon mutual good-will and friendship which will I trust long endure and even gain in strength.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MUNICIPAL AND DISTRICT
BOARD OF BENARES.

1st Decem-
ber 1921.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading accompanied by their Personal Staff left Delhi on the 20th November for Benares en route to Calcutta. Shortly after his arrival His Excellency received an Address of Welcome from the Benares Municipality, to which he made the following reply :—

Gentlemen,—I am glad that I have been able to take an early opportunity of visiting your ancient City of Benares. Just as it is incumbent on every Hindu to make a pilgrimage at least once in his life-time to sacred Kashi, so too a Viceroy cannot fail to visit a spot which stands, as it has stood for so many ages, as the centre of Hindu thought and learning, which is the scene of Lord Budha's first sermon and the home of Tulsi Das. When I dreamed of my visit to India, Benares stood forth as the holy City which must be seen, and I rejoice at this early opportunity of realising my wish. That Benares is not contented

Address of Welcome from the Municipal and District Board of Benares.

with the glories of the past alone, nor abandoned its rôle of spreading enlightenment the great Hindu University that has recently risen in your midst bears witness. It is interesting for me to learn that it was here that the revered Muslim leader Sir Syed Ahmad evolved his great scheme for the uplift of his community.

I look forward to seeing the beauties of your City, the noble river-front which is one of the most famous sights in the world, your celebrated temples, the antiquities of Sarnath and your public buildings—old and new. Incidentally I shall see something of the Municipal improvements you mention and the arts and industries of which you are so justly proud.

I hear the Local Government has in view a scheme of town improvement which with the plans for electric supply you mention and possibly a permanent road bridge over the Ganges should notably add to the amenities of your city.

Benares has good reason to be proud of the products of its silk weaving and brass-work industries which are known and appreciated in most civilised countries. Their fame has spread far and wide and in more remote days when a voyage from Europe to India was a lengthy and perilous undertaking, the proud possessor of the beautiful silks and brasses of Benares sought his inspiration of India from contemplation of these artistic treasures. I am glad to learn that these arts continue to flourish and to preserve those distinctive characteristics which have caused Benares work to be so justly celebrated. The measures taken to encourage and assist your industries through the agency of the Central Weaving Institute and by the organisation of exhibitions such as the annual British Industries

Address of Welcome from the Benares Hindu University.

Fair are instances of the interest taken by Government in a matter which affects the welfare of a considerable portion of your community.

You are shortly to welcome His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and I know that he is keenly interested in his visit to Benares. It is unfortunate, and I regret it with you, that his many engagements will prevent him enjoying a longer stay in your midst. The King-Emperor's son comes to you with no political or other object save that of visiting this historic and holy city of temples and learning and artistic industries and of receiving a degree from the Hindu University. I am convinced that he will receive that loyal and cordial welcome from all of you which you in India delight to give to your guest, and which I permit myself to say in his absence is due not only to the Prince of Wales, but to a remarkable and charming personality.

In conclusion I thank you, gentlemen, for your kind welcome of Lady Reading and myself, and particularly for your prayer that I may be instrumental in promoting peace and good-will in India, a prayer which found a swift and earnest response in my heart.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BENARES HINDU
UNIVERSITY.

1st Decem-
ber 1921.

* His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to an Address of Welcome from the Benares Hindu University in the afternoon of the 1st December said:—

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Members of the University,—My first thought is to thank you for the welcome that you have given me to-day, and also for the opportunity of being among

Address of Welcome from the Benares Hindu University.

you at this meeting of the University. It is my first visit to a university in India and it is appropriate that that visit should be paid here.

As I listened to the address which you delivered, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I was impressed by the variety of subjects covered by your present curriculum and that which you intend to institute. I observed also the emphasis you laid upon the ethical teaching to be derived from religion and from other studies ; whatever you may teach, whatever you may instil into the minds of the young when they come in that plastic state in which impressions are so quickly received, I doubt very much, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, whether the highest result of education is not the formation of character ; whatever you may achieve in intellectual effect, if it does not produce character, it has in fact failed in its primary object.

I must take this opportunity also of congratulating this University upon its position among the universities of India and on the rapid growth of its development. It was, as I understand, the earliest of Indian universities to adopt the organisation of a residential teaching institution and also a new form of constitution, with a distinction drawn between administrative and academic matters, each entrusted to a separate body, while a large representative body forms the supreme authority. In these two important respects it actually forestalled the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission. That Commission expressed its opinion of this University in language which must be familiar to those of you who have studied the history, short as it is, of this University, and who will know that that Commission, composed as it was of men of high calibre, pronounced high praise upon the ideas that were the basis of this institution.

Address of Welcome from the Benares Hindu University.

I must not forget—and indeed no student of this University could forget and no visitor to this University should forget—that this is largely owing to the untiring energies and activities of you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor.

I doubt whether any of us—and I include in this the young amongst you, whose ages I envy so much—at the end of a long life spent in useful public work, will be able to point to any greater work than has been achieved here by your Vice-Chancellor during his life. There are other names nobly associated with the commencement of this great popular enterprise. Foremost amongst them, as I understand, were two of the most enlightened Rulers of Indian States—your Chancellor and your Pro-Vice-Chancellor. Also the Maharaja of Darbhanga and the late Sir Sundar Lal, your first Vice-Chancellor. Here on this site in this ancient city of learning, consecrated by religious tradition and age-long associations, there has sprung up a group of imposing halls, as if they had risen under the influence of an enchanter's wand, and as I say it I remind myself that your Vice-Chancellor has told me that whatever one may see at the moment is only the beginning of that vaster development which is in the mind of himself and those associated with this University. But your aims are great, from all I have heard and read of the objects of this institution, and from the observations that fell from you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor. You are seeking to preserve and foster all that is noblest in Hindu ideals, in Hindu life, in Hindu thought, in Hindu religion and tradition, culture and civilisation. You have also implanted in its natural soil what you think beneficial for your purpose of Western science and of Western industry and art, so that your young men when they go out into the world should not only be equipped with the teachings of Hindu tradition, but also with other knowledge,

Address of Welcome from the Benares Hindu University.

which somehow or other we in the Western world have managed to acquire ; and consequently when they have to take up their avocations in life they will not only be fitted religiously and ethically to fight the battle of life, but will also have the necessary equipment for more material progress.

It is an elevation to the mind and to me an inspiration to understand and appreciate your purposes. I trust that the future will be bright and that the temporary difficulties of which we have heard will be satisfactorily surmounted. You are not singular, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, in this University in feeling financial strain. When I listened to you I thought that I might have been in England listening to the many appeals that come to us from all quarters. Human nature being much the same here as it is with us, there was the same courteous attempt to impress upon Government authorities how necessary it is that they should come forward with a better helping hand (laughter and applause). To-day this was implied with all the delicacy of your position as hosts. All I can say is that problem is now familiar throughout the world but I trust that yours is only a transient embarrassment. I cannot believe it possible in India that this great institution should fail in its purpose for want of funds—for want of support to enable it to give to the youth of India that culture and learning which is so much to be desired. I will therefore only say for myself, remembering that I am here in a dual position and I must be careful how far I commit myself, that I have been not only interested but also inspired by the programme of the development of this University. The Vice-Chancellor reminded me that being Viceroy I am *ex-officio* Lord Rector, but I am also Lord Rector because I am Viceroy. Here amongst you as Lord Rector, with that warm sympathy which so naturally radiates from the

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young to those who are interested in youth, I am minded to do much, but I recall that I cannot do it as Lord Rector : I can only do it as Viceroy. The Viceregal side of me must be cautious this day and I will content myself with telling you how deeply interested I am in your work. More especially I noticed that you have already instituted a system of teaching engineering and industrial chemistry ; that provision is being made for the study, if it has not already taken effect, of minerals and metallurgy ; and of many other subjects of similar character. Further, I noted with great pleasure the desire of the University authorities to form a company of the University Training Corps of the Territorial Force in your midst. You, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, said that you hoped you might soon receive knowledge of the sanction. I am happy indeed to tell you that I bring you to-day the message of that full sanction and in this capacity I speak as Viceroy. You will all understand, as clearly as I do, that such a company cannot of course be formed in a day, but my Government is anxious to offer every encouragement to this movement. It has therefore been decided to accord immediate sanction to the formation of one company, and steps will be taken at once to secure an adjutant and to proceed with the scheme. I feel sure that the University will be able to find the necessary buildings, including an armoury and quarters for the instructional staff, so that the initial stages of this new undertaking may receive the encouragement it deserves at the very outset. I shall rejoice, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, with you if as a result of the institution of this Corps it is found that many amongst the young men of the University will fit themselves for the service of their country by joining the University Training Corps and of making themselves ready to respond to the call for defence of their country.

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Mr. Vice-Chancellor, before many days are over, you will be receiving a visit from His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. He, the Heir-Apparent—the son of the King-Emperor—a bright (he is not present and I may perhaps say it), attractive and charming personality, comes here to India with only one object, that is, to learn to know you, to understand your institutions and to grasp the hand of India. I need not tell you, because I am sure you already know it, that there is no political object in his visit (your opinions may differ : indeed, I have indications that some of you do differ) and you give up none of your political controversies by receiving him, as I am sure you will, cordially and loyally. You in India remember the traditional courtesy you have always been enjoined to display towards your visitors, and you will know that by the warmth of your welcome you will be tendering to him your thanks for coming amongst you and taking so early an opportunity, as the heir to the Throne, of visiting and knowing you.

You, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, invited me to deliver an address as Lord Rector. But associated in my mind with a rectorial address is philosophic meditation, calm study and deliberate thought. Unfortunately, the time and leisure necessary for these are absent ; and, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, when I considered my duties according to the Statute of your University I could not detect in the language any obligation upon the Lord Rector to deliver a rectorial address. But of course I know that that does not dispose of the question ; your University authorities would not be lacking in the capacity of interpreting a statute according to the prevailing spirit. Nevertheless I understand the invitation springs from that courtesy which I have learned to expect in India and which would naturally be distinctive in a University. But I have resisted the temptation. In the

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observations I have made to you I could not help at times addressing you in one capacity and at other times in another, but whatever capacity I may adopt, in the end we come to the same ideas, and as I look around me to-day I see those around me who bear the brunt of the teaching of the University and I see spread all around this assembly the students—the younger men—and it is to them that I would particularly address myself (perhaps because I think that I should sit better at the feet of your teachers than that I could myself inculcate any new knowledge to them). But to you, young men, there are one or two observations I would make, begging you to remember that we older people, strange as you may think it and difficult as it may be to imagine, were all ourselves young once and that we had probably the same thoughts, the same kind of ideas that you have at this moment. I care little whether it is East or West, the warm blood runs through you when you are young and great inspirations come to you and great aims follow immediately the thoughts of a great mind however young. I ask myself, looking at you, what part will you play in the future of India? I am not for one moment thinking of small differences of opinion in methods of reaching the common goal. I am thinking of the future of India when I trust all the present minor controversies will have disappeared, when all having a lofty aim can work together for the benefit of India having but one object in mind, to put India in the place which her numbers, her history, her traditions and her religious spirit merit; to lift her high so that she may rank in the Councils of Empire and of the world. You, young men, have it in your hands to do this. I beg you to bear these high aims well in mind, never to let small differences obscure your thought or turn you from the great purpose, but to recall that you must set your minds to labour

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to the best of your ability for the benefit of India. The one grand ideal should always remain the same: differences of method will mean nothing in a few years' time. And so march steadily forward keeping before you, as the aim to which you intend to devote your life, the welfare and the happiness of India.

1st Decem-
ber 1921.

STATE BANQUET AT BENARES.

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares gave a Banquet on the 1st December in honour of the visit of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading. In replying to the Maharaja's speech His Excellency said:—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first words must be to thank Your Highness for the very kindly and generous references to myself in the remarkable speech you have just delivered in proposing my health and that of Her Excellency, and to express to you our cordial appreciation of your good wishes for our happiness. Permit me also to express my pleasure at finding myself in this ancient and historic city—a pleasure enhanced by the intercourse it enables me to have with Your Highness of whom I have heard so much.

A little over ten years have elapsed since Your Highness was raised to the status of a Ruling Chief over your territories. This step was a signal proof of the confidence reposed in you by His Majesty's Government and the Government of India during that period you have more than justified it.

In relating the history of the unbroken loyalty of your house Your Highness does no more than justice to your ancestors. Their proud record has been nobly sustained in your own person. In Benares your great influence as Kashi Naresh ha

State Banquet at Benares.

always been on the side of law and order. To most of the great public objects and charitable funds in the Province and outside you have always contributed munificently. In Benares itself the Ishwari Memorial Hospital is an example among many of your benevolence outside your State.

Your services during the great war are fresh in memory. You offered all the resources of your State and your personal services on the very day that war was declared and I am sure that it was a grief to you that you were denied the opportunity you sought of service in the field. However the Ambulance Corps you raised as well as the men and material you sent did yeoman service in the field. In unveiling the War Memorial to-day I was struck by the number of men your State contributed to the campaign, which will stand as a permanent record of loyal service to the King-Emperor. At Benares your "Lady Chelmsford War Hospital" in three years cared for 1,395 sick and wounded soldiers from all theatres of the war. These by no means complete the list of your contributions. For the future I hear that you contemplate the establishment of Imperial Service Troops.

The annual reports of your State give a history of judicious and enlightened administration and of a policy for the promotion of the welfare of your people and for cementing their loyalty and attachment to yourself. You are fostering the industries of your State and furthering the material prosperity of your people in every way possible, and I am convinced that the interests of the British subjects handed over to your care will never suffer. May the Benares State always have at its head a Ruler as wise as Your Highness and the British Government a friend as loyal and staunch!

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You ask me to forward the assurances of your loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor. There is no need for me to do this as Your Highness will shortly have a still more appropriate opportunity of giving this message personally through His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Yet a message from Your Highness of devotion and loyalty to the King-Emperor may well I think bear repetition and I shall be pleased to deliver it. It is but another proof of the attachment of the Princes of India to the King-Emperor. In the tasks that lie before me I have the knowledge that the Princes can be depended upon to support the Government of India. This knowledge is always a source of encouragement to those whose destiny it is to preside over the administration in India.

Your Highness has referred to the political problems with which we are at present confronted. The world is still reeling from the effects of the war that terminated three years ago and India has not been immune from some of these. All countries are passing through a period of economic and financial stress and although the position in India in these respects is inherently sound and compares favourably with that of most other countries, we have not escaped and could not indeed expect to escape entirely the consequences of the injury to trade and economic development which was the inevitable result of four years of destruction. Difficulties of this character, high price and diminished trade have added to the burden falling on the administration. The war has left its mark in other directions too. It has intensified greatly the political aspirations of Indians as of other peoples. These aspirations, as Your Highness has shown, we have sought to the best of our power to meet and to satisfy. The Reforms Scheme has placed in the hands of the people powers far in excess of those ever enjoyed at any previous

Address of Welcome from the Calcutta Municipality.

vious period of Indian history. That scheme contains too provision for steady and regulated advance. Yet I regret to say that there is not that whole-hearted co-operation throughout India that is essential to make the Reforms as completely effective as I should wish; I am confident that it is by ordered progress alone that the ideals of India's greatest sons can be realised, and I trust that the time is not far distant when all India will combine in proof of her capacity for political and constitutional development based on sound progressive lines, so as to fit her for further extensions of the Swaraj she desires to attain. The destiny then in store for her may well baffle the imaginative capacity of her greatest patriots. That the task before me and my Government is thorny will not be disputed. But our course is clear. We shall proceed in the administration of Indian affairs and in the government of the country with a determination to do that which we conscientiously believe to be right in the interests of India and the Empire based upon knowledge and experience and, above all, with the welfare of India steadily before us as the goal to be attained.

In conclusion it is a happy circumstance that has brought us here to-night to enjoy Your Highness' hospitality—for to-morrow is the celebration of your birthday. This fortunate event cannot be allowed to pass without our congratulating you upon it and expressing the wish in drinking your health that you may enjoy a long life of continued health and happiness. I give you the toast of His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPALITY.**3rd December 1921.**

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading with their personal Staff arrived in Calcutta on the morning of the 3rd December.

Address of Welcome from the Calcutta Municipality.

At noon His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Calcutta Corporation and made the following reply :—

Mr. Chairman and Commissioners of the Corporation,—I thank you on behalf of myself and Her Excellency for your welcome. You have proudly alluded to your city as the premier city of the East, and you have mentioned its trade, its commerce, and its industrial and social activities which have justified this name. Its wealth, its traditions, and historic associations endow it with an interest in this great Empire of India which cannot fail to command the attention and the admiration of the Supreme Government of this country. I hope that occasions will recur at no long intervals on which I shall be able to revisit your city and I trust that Her Excellency and I will have frequent and prolonged opportunities of enjoying its amenities, congratulating you upon its continued improvement, and thanking you for the geniality of your reception.

No one who has even a short acquaintance with Calcutta can deny the success with which you, Commissioners of the Corporation, have overcome the difficulties of which you speak and have provided municipal services which, notwithstanding physical disadvantages, can hardly be rivalled elsewhere. Nor can any one who has driven along the Red Road or over the Howrah Bridge feel unmoved by the peculiar and characteristic beauty of one of the most fascinating cities in the world. Let it be your task to add to these conveniences and to this beauty. I am glad to hear of the success of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, and I sincerely hope that its activities will continue, as in the past, so as to conduce to the common good of this great community.

The question of water-supply is one of prime importance in all cities. In one like yours it is of incomparable importance.

Address of Welcome from the Calcutta Municipality.

The Government of Bengal are, as you all know, at this moment confronted with a difficult financial situation, notwithstanding the remission of their contribution to Imperial Revenues, which has received the approval of the Legislative Assembly. I must leave to His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay and his advisers the question of the assistance which they will be able to render you in the important task which you have in hand. I rejoice to hear that the Government of Bengal have found themselves able to assist you in your schemes for the extension and improvement of primary education in Calcutta. From what I have read on the subject I understand that it calls for your most earnest attention and it is rendered all the more pressing by the scheme of Reforms, the fundamental success of which must necessarily depend upon the wider and wider extension of education and that consciousness of corporate unity and public feeling in the production of which education is so large a factor.

You mention a Bill now before the Bengal Legislative Council to endow Calcutta with a more complete form of local self-government and a constitution founded upon a broader basis and popular representation. I understand that such a Bill has long been under contemplation and that after various vicissitudes it is now in a fair way to come to fruition. I shall look forward with interest to seeing its provisions and I trust that this, along with your large schemes for education, will stimulate popular pride and interest, and that the inhabitants of Calcutta will realise that they are citizens of a city second to none in the East and willingly shoulder their great responsibilities.

In your generous references to myself you express the hope that my administration may be of the highest and most lasting

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Address of Welcome from the Calcutta Municipality.

benefit to the Empire and to the people of India. This hope, fortunately, is always with me. It encouraged me to abandon the position of serene and honourable dignity and to become the head of His Majesty's Government in this country. It stimulates me now to look ahead with confidence in the future. That there were troublous times ahead when I accepted office, I was well aware. At this moment I shall only say that your prayer for the success of my efforts in India is an encouragement to me in the performance of the anxious duties of my office. His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay has recently referred to the situation in Bengal and particularly Calcutta in his address to the Legislative Council. I could not usefully add to the weighty and impressive observations he then made. I content myself at this moment by stating that he has now, as he has had ever since I arrived here, the full support of my Government and my unreserved and complete confidence. I feel sure that he will take all necessary measures for the enforcement of law and the maintenance of order, and if it becomes necessary for the Government of India to assist him and his Government I pledge myself that prompt and effective steps will be taken for this purpose.

Gentlemen, in a city of the political and commercial importance of Calcutta it would be intolerable, as indeed it would be elsewhere even in the smallest village, that one political section of the community should seek to impose its will upon all other citizens by threats and intimidation. I have already expressed myself upon this subject and will only add that I am confident that the vast majority of the community here in Calcutta will loyally support the Government.

Gentlemen, I thank you for your address and for the beautiful casket you have presented to me. I shall treasure both as souvenirs of my first visit as Viceroy to Calcutta, and I thank

Address of Welcome from the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association at Calcutta.

you more especially for the good wishes you have been kind enough to express for the health and happiness of Her Excellency and myself. I will only in conclusion say to you as I say to myself daily—I might almost say hourly—that my earnest prayer is that my stay here in India in the responsible position that I occupy may be for the good—for the lasting good—for the prosperity and for the happiness of India.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE ANGLO-INDIAN AND
DOMICILED EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION AT CALCUTTA.

5th Decem-
ber 1921.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association at Calcutta on the 5th December, and in reply said :—

Gentlemen,—I desire to thank you warmly for your friendly references to myself and Lady Reading. It has given me great pleasure to receive this deputation of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Community. Your community, as you justly observe, occupies a peculiar and special position in this great country. Though connected by ties of blood with England your domicile and permanent residence are in India, and your fortunes are thus intimately linked with those of the Indian peoples. It is thus natural that you should not be altogether free from the apprehensions incidental to your position as a small minority of alien language, religion and customs. I welcome and appreciate therefore, all the more your assurance that you recognise the Act of 1919 to be an instalment of representative Government, which should be granted and that you are prepared to do all you can to ensure that effect is given to it. You may be confident that the Government is not unmindful of its

Address of Welcome from the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association at Calcutta.

responsibilities in regard to your community. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report contained the clearest acknowledgment of the duty in this respect of the Government ; and the Government of India Act has vested in the Government of India and Local Governments the powers necessary to safeguard your interests should these ever be threatened. I would in particular point out that the protection of minorities is one of the duties especially imposed by his Instrument of instructions on every Governor. I am glad, however, to observe that the new legislatures have not shown any inclination to disregard the legitimate claims of your community. In the matter of education, to which you rightly attach so much importance, there have been, no doubt, questions or resolutions in some of the Councils, but my information is that no Council has taken any step which operates unfairly to the community you represent. Your community depends for its livelihood to a greater extent than any other in India, on the provision of adequate educational facilities for its children, and this fact, which has been recognised in the past by Local Governments will, I feel sure, continue to be borne in mind by them and their Legislative Councils in the allocation of the revenues available for educational purposes. The suggestion, however, that European education should be made a central subject is one which was carefully considered last year when the rules under the Government of India Act were being framed, and the decision then arrived at—a decision in which I entirely concur—was that to separate European education from the provincial educational organisation was neither necessary nor in the interests of the community. If European education were made a central subject the funds for its maintenance and development would have to be voted by the Legislative Assembly, and whilst there is no reason to suppose

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that that body would not give a fair consideration to any demands put forward on your behalf, it would be unreasonable to expect that they would be more liberal than the local Legislative Councils which as I have already said have hitherto not been hostile nor unmindful of your legitimate claims. Moreover European education, though it forms no doubt a distinct part of the general provincial organisation, is also vitally connected therewith, and its progress could not but be prejudicially affected if it were cut off from the other branches of provincial education and taken out of the hands of Local Governments who are in a much better position than the Government of India can be to appreciate its needs and to supervise its administration. I may further remind you that European education is also a provincial reserved subject, and therefore the Governor of each province has full power to ensure that it receives adequate encouragement and its fair share of the funds at the disposal of his Government. Lastly, and I hope that this will remove any apprehensions that may be in your minds. I desire to point out that Local Governments are responsible in regard to reserved subjects to the Government of India, and that the Government of India are themselves responsible for the administration of such subjects to the Secretary of State and Parliament. My Government are fully conscious of this responsibility and will not fail effectively to discharge their duty under the Government of India Act. You may also rely on my Government according to any other problems affecting your community, whenever presented to them, a full, careful and sympathetic consideration.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, let me thank you for your expressions of loyalty to the King-Emperor. These were

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scarcely necessary from your community whose devotion to the crown is so well known and yet I am always glad to hear them. Let me also thank you for the hopes you express for the future of India during my tenure of office and for the encouragement you have given me by your address and for the casket in which you have enclosed it.

7th Decem- DINNER GIVEN BY REPRESENTATIVE PRESSMEN AND OTHER
ber 1921. INDIAN GENTLEMEN AT CALCUTTA.

His Excellency the Viceroy in the course of his speech at the dinner given by Representative Pressmen and other Indian gentlemen at the Dalhousie Institute at Calcutta, said :—

Sir Benode Mitter and gentlemen.—It was a happy thought on your part to invite me here to-night to dinner and give me the opportunity of meeting you all and of listening to the speech which has just been made. At an early stage, Sir Benode recalled to my mind a passage in my life which is somewhat obscure and indeed which, I thought, was little known, when he referred to my first visit to Calcutta, coupling it up by the mention of this being my second visit and I shall not be tempted to stray into the early days. There is little to be said about this visit of mine in my younger days—and when I was not invited to a dinner such as this. But I esteem it a real pleasure to find myself here in Calcutta, in this great city with all its charm and fascination, with its history, with all its memories and all its great traditions. And I have tried to live over some of those days again in refreshing my mind from the books and chronicles that now exist of the old days in Calcutta, and then to compare them with the present. It is difficult indeed to

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at Calcutta.*

realise that the Calcutta of which one reads in old days, is the wonderful city in which one now travels in these days in motor cars with electric lights.

You, Sir, referred to Lord Sinha. I cannot but express again my sense of a very deep loss in the resignation of Lord Sinha from the position he both adorned and distinguished. In eloquent terms, Sir Benode, you have travelled rapidly through his record of first in a number of events which distinguished, and ever must distinguish, his career. It would be difficult to add to the striking tribute that was paid to him in the telegram which I was privileged to send from the Secretary of State, giving a message from His Majesty the King expressing his own deep sense of loss, and that of the Secretary of State and myself, and of my colleagues. I will hope, as I am sure you all do, that it will not be long before Lord Sinha will be restored to health. There are, of course, great trials in high office. There are important decisions to make, there are difficult matters to determine, and life is not altogether easy for those who have undertaken the burden, as Lord Sinha did, because they thought it a patriotic duty.

If I may follow you, Sir Benode, in part of your discourse I will come now to the Prince of Wales' visit. You will have on December 24th the opportunity of welcoming him who is to us, and to you, a great national and imperial asset—one who has travelled through His Majesty's Dominions and now comes to this great Empire of India with no thought in his mind but that of becoming acquainted with you and with India, with no hope of intervening in politics. Indeed, he must be a poor student of British modern history who fails to realise that both

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the King and the Prince of Wales stand altogether outside party politics. I trust that Calcutta will be true to her reputation. No one could ask more, and indeed no loyal subject could desire a more enthusiastic welcome than the traditions and memories of Calcutta would assure for the Heir-Apparent to the Throne.

I will not refer to the scenes and the deplorable events that took place at Bombay on the same day when the most magnificent reception was accorded to the Prince of Wales. I will only say that I cannot conceive that any of those who have studied the events of those days in Bombay would wish to try to repeat them in Calcutta, but would content themselves, if they do not desire to be present, with abstaining from attending any celebration. I cannot, as I stand here at this moment, refrain from saying to you what has passed through my thoughts in connection with this visit. I tried to put myself in the place of those who are seeking to spoil the reception which the vast majority of the citizens of Calcutta, who, we know, are loyal to the backbone are willing to give to the Prince, and I cannot but ask myself what good purpose is served? I do not wish to use one single word which would exasperate feelings which no doubt run high in certain circles. I don't wish to travel into the history or into the politics of the non-co-operation movement. But I will try to put myself in the place of those who have some desire, as has been said, not to participate in the reception. I ask myself, assuming that I believe in the connection between the British Throne and the Empire of India, assuming that I am working hard with the desire to participate in the grant of full *Swaraj*, and assuming further that all that is said is put forward as to aims

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and ambitions which are honestly and sincerely meant—assuming all that for the purpose for which I am now speaking, I still put to myself the question, what good purpose will it serve? And I strive to think what might be the result. Supposing that the idea is to gain *Swaraj* earlier. There are many others who are working patiently for it. I should have thought that there never was a better opportunity than this moment, when it is known that the eyes not only of Great Britain but also of the British dominions must be concentrated upon India, in the reception which is to be given to the Prince of Wales. What grander opportunity could there be for him who desires *Swaraj* and who is assured, as all have been assured in this country, that no political advantage is sought to be obtained, or would be gained, by a most hearty and enthusiastic reception to the Prince? What grander opportunity could there be to show that they are fit to obtain that *Swaraj*—which after all can only come from the British Parliament unless it is to be won by the sword—than to say: “We who call ourselves non-co-operationists are out to oppose the Government, but nevertheless we see in this visit an opportunity of showing that we are loyal to the Crown (because that is the only test which is imposed by the Prince of Wales’ visit) and in that way we will prove to the British Dominions and to the British people, and we will establish to the British Parliament, that we are much better fitted to be entrusted with complete self-government than perhaps they might think from the disturbances which have been created and the cries that have resounded.”

I will not travel into any discussion as to what may happen, neither will I repeat any part of the observations I have already made about the enforcement of law and order. To

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reiterate them will really add nothing. They represent the settled policy of the Government of India, just as I understand Lord Ronaldshay's statement represents the policy of the Government of Bengal. Certainly, it gives no pleasure to any Government to have to arrest citizens either for acts or violent speeches or breaches of the law. The object of the Government is the very opposite. It does not want to arrest; it wants to avoid arrests. But it is indispensable that Government should take proper steps in order that law-abiding citizens may be well assured of the protection which they are entitled to demand from the Government, and which they must have.

Gentlemen, Sir Benode in his address to you referred to the part that Bengal has played in the establishment of the Reforms. I readily admit it. All of us who are interested in these Reforms are grateful for what took place, but even that will not lead me to stray into the thorny road of Bengal finance. These are questions which are perhaps better discussed round the table than in making an after-dinner speech. I admit that the opportunity was a favourable one for the ventilation of Sir Benode's views, but he has the advantage of speaking without the responsibility of carrying out what he says.

I deem it auspicious that I should be dining with you to-night, on the very day when it is announced that a settlement has been arrived at on the Sinn Fein question. I will not at this moment tell you more about it than has already appeared in the newspapers. It will gradually be published. No doubt by to-morrow morning you will know all about it. But this we do know, that the King has already telegraphed to the Prime Minister expressing his great satisfaction at that

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which he describes as a spirit of patience and conciliation, and congratulating the Prime Minister on the result of his and the Government's efforts, and characteristically, with the modesty of the King adding that he is grateful for the small part that he was enabled to play by the speech which he made at Belfast. You may ask what lesson is to be learnt. I can look back on a life spent politically largely in attempting to obtain that very self-government for Ireland which has now been granted. There unfolds before me a long record of controversy, very bitter controversy. But think of the difference between Ireland and India. Ireland has attained this result after long long years. India, without any of the acts which have characterised the history of the movement in Ireland, attained a tremendous boon in the grant of the Reforms which took her already far upon the road to that complete *Swaraj* which we all want. And again, India has before it by ordinary constitutional means, by the labours and efforts of those who are in the Legislative Assembly, the Council of State for India and Legislative Councils of the Provinces, an opportunity of which they have been very quick to avail themselves of proving that they are people who will soon be ready for the full grant of self-government. But I would just ask you to pause for one moment and look over the Western vista of events, remembering history and the years that passed before any country attained what India has obtained peacefully—in this sense that she had not to strive or to make a revolution—as the natural result of the assistance she gave in the war and the loyalty and devotion which she then showed to the Crown. After all, events move rapidly now-a-days. The event of to-day is almost as it is chronicled submerged under the weight of

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anticipation for the morrow. We do not stop to think too long now-a-days. We strive to march too fast. But I suppose that if there is one quality which stands out among those which go to mark statesmanship it is that of patience. Patience is one of the greatest political powers. If I were trying again to put myself into another man's place, I think that the thought that would be in my mind, striving with all my capacity to be quite fair and impartial in my views, would be. What a wonderful position my country holds at this moment. Here it is, with 320 odd millions of people, having already taken a very high place in the counsels of the British Empire. I will not recall all the various events in which India has played her part. As I speak to you I see a picture of India represented at the Imperial War Cabinet, taking her part like the other Dominions in the work that was then engaging the attention of the War Cabinet. You know again how India at the table of the League of Nations, at the table of the signatories to peace, was represented and took a very great part. I would say to myself. What a future! You have travelled far in a very short space of time, because you will in all probability agree that twenty years ago—to go no further—it would not have been thought possible to have achieved so much in the years from 1918 to 1921. And I would again say. What a future! I would then recall His Majesty's language at the opening of your new Chamber, and I would ask myself whether any steps that could be taken, whether any movement that could be engineered, could possibly procure for India a greater or a higher destiny than that of a partner in the Commonwealth of nations which we designate the British Empire forming one with the great Dominions, taking her part with them, sitting with them in the

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Councils, all honouring the one King-Emperor—the one link that binds them together and is the symbol of the attachment of all these nations.

Do not let us for a moment believe that the King rules merely by virtue of inheritance. The King stands where he does, at the head of this great Commonwealth, because in his own personality, in the traditions which we are now accustomed to associate with our King, with our Sovereign, he represents the highest and the noblest ideals of the British people throughout the world. And it is that which is symbolised in the Crown of England. It is that which makes us look to the King apart from his great personality ; it is that which we mean when we speak of the King as the head and as the ruler of all these Dominions. It is because the Crown rests upon the people's will and upon their aims and aspirations ; it represents to them in one illustrious personality all that which is best and which is collected from among every one of us all. And it is to the son of the King, who acts up to the same traditions, young as he is, that you will have the opportunity of extending your friendly and loyal greetings. Do not think, I beg of you, so much of the man, because there is the attractive charming personality which wins its way to all hearts, and which would attain its aims in that way regardless of the position he occupies. The Crown symbolises what I believe is in the heart of all Indians, noble ideals, liberty, and justice. It is that for which the Crown of England and all India stands.

Justice, as you so well said, Sir, is the tradition upon which the British connection with India stands. It is that connection which has given it value amongst you in the main. I freely recognise that there are, of course, faults and mistakes. Nevertheless, the British genius, the mind of the British people,

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even from the comparatively uneducated to those who have the highest culture, worship justice as the most divine gift that can be bestowed on the human race ; and involved with it is that liberty which you in India seek and we in England desire, which we hold before us as the shining light to which we ever turn and which we strive to get close to. It is that liberty which consists, not in enforcing your will on that of others by whatever means you may seek, it is that liberty which does not consist in saying that others must do as you wish. That is the very opposite of liberty, that is tyranny. Liberty consists in doing that which you wish consistently with your regard for the rights of others, and that consequently means regard for the laws of your country which are for the protection of its citizens.

Now, Sir, I have been tempted, I am afraid, to detain you longer than I had intended. I have spoken to you of thoughts that are uppermost in my mind, not merely for the audience as I stand at this table, but of thoughts that are with me, and naturally must be with me, day and night. They are thoughts that are with one who finds himself in the position of the Viceroy of India, with all its burdens, responsibilities and anxieties, and who would find it impossible to continue the duties that devolve upon him were it not that there is always a hope, a conviction, that as the years roll by India will rise and attain a higher place. For the disturbances and controversies of the moment will disappear from us in the course of years. Years do not count when you are striving onwards towards a great goal which is to be an epoch in your history, and therefore I say to you that I am convinced that India is not only well on the road to that goal, but she is gradually

Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association, Calcutta.

preparing herself for the attainment of her aims. You may depend upon it that in looking back to the declaration of August 1917, and all that has happened since, India will say "Marvellous it is that within so short a space of time we have attained so noble an aim." With that conviction I say to you, as I have said before in other assemblies, and as I am never tired of saying and trust that I shall never fail to say to all who care about the destiny of India, not to allow your minds to be obscured by the small differences which so often arise in the course of transitional periods of constitutional developments, but to keep your mind and your vision fixed always on the great temple which is at the end of the road which is there for them to travel, and which has a light that shines for them to look at, and for them to reach and the attainment of which lies entirely within their grasp if only they are content to strive to attain it.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

8th Decem-
ber 1921.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association at Calcutta on the 8th December, and made the following reply :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I thank you warmly for the address which you have been good enough to present to me and which has just been read by Maharaja Tagore. It is a source of gratification to me that you should have thought fit to wait upon me this morning in order to express the views so forcibly put in

Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association, Calcutta.

the address which has just been read. When I look at my programme during my short stay in Calcutta I find that the opportunities afforded to me here and of which I have been glad to avail myself of coming into contact with important associations are both varied and numerous. In the ordinary course a Viceroy does not get the same opportunities as, let us say, a Prime Minister or Ministers at the head of great departments in England. Therefore it is that I gladly take advantage of the opportunity of your address, and especially when presented by so influential and representative a gathering as I see before me this morning. Please don't think that I am intending to detain you at any length because of what I have just said ; that would ill requite you for your courtesy to me. But there are some observations I would make in answer to your address. I cannot however allow the opportunity to escape me of expressing my warm appreciation of the far too generous references to myself personally in certain paragraphs of the address. You express there an appreciation of past services I have had the good fortune and the privilege to render to my country which I should like to think are well deserved. You recall various passages of my life and, in particular, the service which I was privileged to assist in rendering to India when I was in America as British Ambassador. It seems strange now when reflecting upon it because at that time I had not the faintest idea that I should have the good fortune even to visit India. I shall only say that I count it a happy circumstance that those events did take place. They caused me considerable activity at the time in America. I well remember how from day to day, in accordance with the telegraphic reports I was receiving, I watched the decline of your metallic reserve, and saw the inevitable approach of assistance required to prevent inconvertibility. I am not going to detain

Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association, Calcutta.

you with a long story of the events of that period, save to say, as I think I have had already the opportunity of saying in another quarter when similar observations were made to me, that I have always felt most grateful to the American Administration and to the American Congress, not only for the enormous assistance that they gave us at that critical moment but for the very generous response they made at a critical period. It is not easy to prevent members of Parliament or Legislative Councils or Assemblies or of American Houses of Congress from making speeches. But it was a time of war—of emergency ; it is sufficient to say I do not think anybody, except the closest students of financial conditions at that time, knew what had happened or the reasons for the passing of that particular measure.

I find special satisfaction in noting that you recall the language I used as the expression of my most earnest thought when I was addressing the English Bench and Bar in the position of Viceroy-Designate, and yet at that time still Lord Chief Justice of England. It was the very natural expression of my thought, seated in the chair of justice in my own court surrounded by all my brother Judges of the Court of Appeal and the High Court and addressing the Bar of England in which I had passed so long a period of my life, that I should have before me "Justice" and that, seated where I was, I should wish it to accompany me to India. British justice is one of the pillars upon which the British rule of India has always rested and perhaps I should be emphasising again that great principle of British administration and it might be thought that the new precedent in the choice for a lawyer to come to India as Viceroy would be taken to mean that justice was not to have a less exalted position in the future of India than in the past. That you recall the language I use pleases me ; that it should always be with me is but expressing

Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association, Calcutta.

my hopes for the development of India and, I trust, the success of the administration over which I preside.

You refer also to the attitude which the Government of India has taken with reference to the status of Indians in British Dominions and Possessions. Here again I have already expressed myself in plain language and I will content myself now with the observation that I am in complete sympathy with those who think that a British Indian subject of the King-Emperor, when he goes to British Dominions or Possessions under the rule of this same King-Emperor, is entitled to carry with him the status of a British subject and to ask that this recognition should be given to him as it is given to those who actually reside there. (Applause.) I need not assure you that all the influence that I possess, with the assistance of my colleagues in the Government, will continue to be devoted to obtaining a proper recognition of this status so prized by Indians. You will have observed recent events in England : you will have seen the result of the advocacy of our distinguished Indian representatives at the great Conference and the notable declaration which was made by the Imperial Conference as the result of these efforts.

You refer to the unusual stress and strain in India. I confess that when I contemplate the activities of a section of the community I find myself still, notwithstanding persistent study ever since I have been in India, puzzled and perplexed. I ask myself what purpose is served by flagrant breach of the law for the purpose of challenging the Government and in order to compel arrest ? As I understand it, that is the position : if I am wrong I would gladly learn. But my appreciation is not that persons are being arrested for breach of the law in some stress of passion or loss of control : it is the opposite. There are organised attempts to challenge the law. I will assume that those who

Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association, Calcutta.

advocate this course are actuated by earnest and good purposes. But what object can be served : what is to be the result of it ? Is it thought that by challenging the authorities the Government must change its course ? I do not pause to ask change its course in what respect ? Because this is a far wider subject which I have not the opportunity of discussing with you this morning, but I do ask myself, and you and any who may choose to read what I am saying : what benefit is served to India by these challenges ? The authorities must enforce the law, otherwise the community ceases to exist as a civilised community. The authorities are bound to take notice of those who place themselves in defiance of the law, otherwise how can law be enforced against others like the common criminal, who seeks to enter your house or to the man who seeks to outrage your most sacred possessions ? What answer *can* be made ? The law is the same for all persons and so long as the law exists it must be obeyed, and if it is publicly challenged, there can be but one answer—however eminent, however distinguished, however earnest and sincere the person may be who has set to work to make the challenge. There are misguided people who think that a Government takes delight in arresting citizens : the very opposite of course is the case. That Government is happiest that has to make no arrests—certainly no arrests for political actions. For myself, it fills me with regret every time that I hear that a citizen has been arrested who through misguided effort has come into conflict with the authorities. I find no satisfaction : on the contrary, I do find great regret. But let me add that that will not sway me, or the Government which I represent, one hair's breadth from the policy which we have mapped out. We must continue, otherwise you will be entitled to say those who are at the head of the administration of India

Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association, Calcutta.

or of the Provincial Governments, that we are failing in the elementary duty of Government, which is to preserve law, and to see that the rights of others are respected. I have already said in the past, and I repeat lest my words be misinterpreted, that notwithstanding that we must enforce the law, there is no desire, I am quite sure, on the part of the Government of Bengal—and certainly there is none on the part of the Government of India—to stifle criticism, to prevent unfavourable comment or even to hinder opposition to Government. There are recognised ways in which those who take different views may express them and may make them felt and I shall be very sorry indeed if the time ever comes—which it certainly never could so long as I am at the head of affairs—in which there would be any attempt to stifle criticism or opposition of a legitimate and constitutional character. But when that is said, it cannot be—if we are to proceed upon the path of law—that those who take a different view are to be permitted to enforce their will by unlawful means—by means which never can be recognised as lawful in any civilised country. And all I desire to say to you to-day, Gentlemen, conscious as I am and always must be of the responsibilities which devolve upon us who are entrusted with the administration of the affairs of this country, that I see the path very clearly marked out. We must pursue our own policy, doing what we conscientiously and honestly believe is right—whether it receives praise or whether it receives blame. We naturally seek inspiration in a number of channels and I find it my good fortune to be here in Calcutta where there are so many points of contact with life, not perhaps so open to in other parts of India where I reside. I say nevertheless that seeking inspiration from various sources throughout the Empire of India, trying to understand public opinion, striving to give effect to it where possible,

*Address of Welcome from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce,
Calcutta.*

viewing all legitimate aspirations with sympathy and with the endeavour to be sensitive in response to grievances of India, yet we must act as we think right. We have the advantage of criticism, the benefit of consultation with official and, let me add, of considerable importance unofficial opinion and so eventually we may understand the views, the feelings, the aims and the aspirations of the Indian people: we must preserve steadfastly before us that if we rise to high and lofty ideals, we shall best be serving the interests of India and we shall best be representing all that is highest in Indian thought.

I thank you, Gentlemen, very warmly for your address and for your good wishes for the health and happiness of myself as well as of Her Excellency. Together we have a burden to carry and I always find the greatest satisfaction in having her name associated with mine, because I verily believe that if it should be my good fortune at the end of my period to look back upon some slight measure of success, I shall get more than my due share of the praise, for I shall know in my heart that the wife who is always with me was of the greatest help in making for that success.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BENGAL NATIONAL
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CALCUTTA.

8th Decem-
ber 1921.

In replying to an Address of Welcome from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta, His Excellency said:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I am very glad to have this opportunity of meeting you and of receiving the Address of

*Address of Welcome from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce,
Calcutta.*

Welcome which you have been good enough to present to me. I always attach importance to a welcome from Chambers of Commerce and from those who are engaged in commercial pursuits, more especially in the great trading centre of Calcutta, with its famed port and river, with its ships coming and going on that river in constant succession ever since the very early days when it was a very small place, very different from the Calcutta we now see. I attribute special value to an appreciation of the views of a commercial community both here and elsewhere. I have seen enough of trade, commerce and industry in my life—not in my own active pursuits—but in the studies that I have had to make of commercial and industrial problems to realise how important they are to the material welfare of the community and it requires but little knowledge of human nature to appreciate the value of material welfare upon the moral elevation of the community.

And now, Gentlemen, you express the wish that I may come to Calcutta every year. You may depend upon it that so far as it will rest within my powers I shall make every endeavour to return to Calcutta. I enjoy every moment of it whilst I am here, more especially because I have the advantage of being here during the cold weather, but its size, its broad streets, its importance in the history of India and in the prosperity of India at this moment would alone suffice to make Calcutta of the greatest attraction. So far as I can judge there are opportunities afforded me here which are not always available and I esteem it a privilege that I shall during my stay find many means of coming in contact with your manufactures, with your financiers, with your merchants, with your shipping industry, with that vast concourse of people who help to make the trade

*Address of Welcome from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce,
Calcutta.*

of the country, who are known as agents or intermediaries and, generally, with all that aggregation of human beings who together establish the importance, from a commercial aspect, of any city, and I thus look forward to making myself more closely acquainted with the business of this great city. Although, I shall not be able, in the comparatively short space at my disposal to see all I could wish you know that the anticipation of the realisation of a wish is one of the hopes of human nature. And so I look forward to visiting you again here and it may be that when I return—as indeed I have every reason to hope and believe—the Fiscal Commission will have finished its labours and will have reported. I do not propose in the faintest degree to speculate upon the results of the Fiscal Commission. It would be wrong if I did and it would be unwise if I could. I await the report with confidence realising, as I do, and as I hope you all do, that every attempt has been made by Government to select a body of fair-minded, impartial men who will bring all their wisdom and judgment to bear upon the problem and who will seek, whatever their pre-conceived views may be, to arrive at the truth and to give the best advice to India, who understand that they are charged with a great responsibility, that you—indeed commerce throughout India—will be looking to them to express their views, as the result of the evidence they will hear, of the best policy for India in the future. It is upon consideration of that report that we shall have to frame our policy when it is presented: meanwhile we must await the result.

You have referred to some observations that I made at an earlier stage upon the value of exports. I but expressed that which every student of economics must know is an axiomatic

*Address of Welcome from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce,
Calcutta.*

truth—it may not always be apparent on the surface—but it is one of those truths from which there can be no departure that the true test of the surplus wealth of any country will be found in its exports to other countries. I do not mean for one moment to underrate the enormous importance of the home market but when you supply raw materials, your own machinery, your own railways, your own manufactures, in fact, the whole market of your country—which is no doubt very desirable and should be encouraged in every possible way—the test of the surplus wealth of the country would not be in the goods consumed in the country but in the products that are sent to other countries and which pay for them by other goods and services. But I may be tempted if I pursued this path to stray into a discussion of economics, and, fascinating as the subject is, I must resist the temptation. We must—and I suppose there can be no difference of opinion on this—concentrate attention upon developing the industries of India, upon extending manufactures in India, either by the use of raw materials produced in India, or even raw material which may have to be imported into India. If labour in India is expended upon raw material from whatever country it comes you produce the finished article or the half-finished article, as it may be, and you naturally add to the products of the country and are therefore helping to enrich the country. That there is opportunity for extending the industry of India I have not the faintest doubt, indeed, all the attention that I have been able to give to the subject has only convinced me of the vast potentialities of India, and of its enormous resources if properly developed, with the addition of capital that will be required and of knowledge, which also may have to be an imported article and is none the

*Address of Welcome from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce,
Calcutta.*

less valuable if it is imported. It will produce men capable of teaching here and also in other countries and of spreading the knowledge acquired here. Meantime the vital problem, as it has been impressed upon me from the study of conditions here in the development of industry, must be extension, and upkeep of your communications. It must be in the extension of railway facilities—of transport communications which inevitably either follow or create trade. It is upon these factors that I think attention must be concentrated. This matter will be discussed in the future. It will require much examination, much thought and the best wisdom and judgment of India devoted to it for our future in India (you will forgive me if I say “our ” because I will not separate myself from you—my view and yours must be the same) our future here in Indian industrial development rests almost in the first instance upon our taking proper means to develop our railway and transport communications, and I do hope that when the subject is considered in the near future, as it must be as a result of the report of the Railway Committee, that we shall realise that we must approach it prepared for large developments convinced that money properly spent upon railway development will be repaid in increased prosperity and extended industries of the country.

And now, Gentlemen, I shall not enter the domain of politics—internal politics as distinct from commerce. You have been good enough in your address to spare me. You have made pertinent observations,—I know how interested you all must be—but there are so many opportunities, some past, some in the immediate future and many that will remain in the more remote future when I shall have to express my views and so I refrain from more to-day.

Address of Welcome from the Bengal Mahajan Sabha at Calcutta.

In conclusion I am grateful to you for waiting upon me to-day with the address for the good wishes you have expressed for Her Excellency, as well as for myself, and I trust that in the future, when I may be coming here for the last time you may, in your language of to-day, be able to feel assured that your good wishes and expressions of hope and confidence in the future of the next few years in India, have been justified. If so I shall indeed be fortunate.

Gentlemen, I thank you.

14th Decem-
ber 1921.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BENGAL MAHAJAN SABHA
AT CALCUTTA.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Bengal Mahajan Sabha at Calcutta on the 14th December, and in reply said :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I thank you warmly for the very cordial welcome which you have extended to Lady Reading and myself on the occasion of our visit to the city of Calcutta. The welcome which we have already received from the citizens of Calcutta has endeared to our hearts this great and attractive city of the Indian Empire which we have at last had the opportunity to visit. It is a pleasure to me this morning to see amongst you so many of the leading citizens of Calcutta. Your presence and support in these times are a great encouragement.

No one realises more than I the difficulty of the many delicate political problems which yet remain to be solved and it is a comfort to note the spirit of hope and confidence in which you view them. That the troubles of to-day are but passing

Address of Welcome from the Bengal Mahajan Sabha at Calcutta.

clouds, however black they may appear, which will melt away before the sun-shine of the future, is a belief that is firmly established in my heart. It is gratifying for me in handling all these difficult problems to receive from you such expressions of confidence and trust.

You have referred to the financial difficulties with which Bengal is now confronted, and, while expressing gratitude for the waiving for a period of three years of the annual contribution of 63 lakhs payable by Bengal to the Central Government, you point out that this measure of relief is inadequate to meet the situation. You will not, I hope, expect me to enter upon the very controversial question as to the equity, as between the various provinces, of the financial settlement approved by Parliament and embodied in the Devolution Rules. That is a very thorny question, and if you were to discuss it with the representatives of other provinces, you would find, I think, that your contentions as to the injustice of that settlement to Bengal would be challenged. I do not seek to minimise Bengal's financial difficulties, which indeed were recognised by the Joint Parliamentary Committee when they commended the case of Bengal to the Government's special consideration. It was in virtue of that recommendation that we agreed to remit the Provincial contribution for the next three years. As I have said, it is not possible for me here to discuss the merits of that settlement. I would only ask you to remember one thing. Serious though Bengal's financial difficulties undoubtedly are, she is not the only province which finds it difficult to meet her expenditure from her present revenues, and I am not disclosing any secret when I say that the Central Government itself is in no better position.

Address of Welcome from the Bengal Mahajan Sabha at Calcutta.

You next refer to the inadequacy of the Indian railway system and to certain vexed railway questions. But I am sure that you will agree with me that this is neither the time nor the place to enter into any long discussion of these difficult questions. Questions of this kind have been brought prominently to the notice of the public by the recent Report of the Indian Railway Committee, and you may rest assured not only that the recommendations of the Committee will be brought systematically under examination by the Railway Department, but also that the Indian Legislature will in due course be given an opportunity of expressing their views on all important questions of principle and policy arising out of the Report. I may, however, permit myself one remark. Some of the disabilities to which you refer, notably the general inadequacy of the railway system and the grievances of third class passengers, hinge almost entirely upon finance, and I have great hopes that as the result of the deliberations of the Railway Financial Committee which has just been sitting in Calcutta, it will be possible for the Government of India to make arrangements for finance which will enable the railways to make ordered and steady progress towards rehabilitation and efficiency. It is of the utmost importance for the purpose of the industrial development of India and of the utilisation of her wonderful resources that a well-considered and firmly settled financial plan should be adopted.

Nor do I propose to follow you in your incursion into the field of fiscal policy. Indeed, with a Fiscal Commission already touring India, it would be improper on my part to do so. Before passing on, however, I must point out that three of the twelve members of the Commission come from Calcutta, and that two of them directly represent Bengal interests. I must

Address of Welcome from the Bengal Mahajan Sabha at Calcutta.

express my dissent therefore from your statement that Bengal is unrepresented on the Commission.

I note with interest your views on the question whether the embargo on the export of foods and grains should be continued. The Government of India already decided that restrictions on the export of wheat should be continued until the 31st March next at least. With rice, however, the case is different. As you yourselves admit, the harvest this year bids fair to be exceptionally good, and prices are happily showing signs of falling. I do not, however, propose to commit myself, I will merely indicate to you that the question whether the embargo on export of rice can be safely removed (save with regard to Burma) is one that requires careful consideration.

I note with pleasure your belief that the future prosperity of India is dependent upon India's connection with the British Empire. I know that your confidence in this connection rests not upon the fact that it is British, but because you know that it is to the best of man's ability the rule of impartial justice. The Empire has been built upon this foundation, and it is because you believe that, as a member of this great brotherhood of Nations, India will receive full realisation of her national aspirations, that you base your confidence in the future upon the permanence of India's Imperial connection. You will shortly have the opportunity of giving a practical exhibition of your loyalty to this great commonwealth of nations. The eldest son of our King-Emperor will soon be among you and I trust that he will carry away with him after his visit to your city as permanent an affection for its citizens and as vivid a memory of their loyalty as did his father the King-Emperor before him.

Address of Welcome from the Bengal Mukhijan Sabha at Calcutta.

Gentlemen, I have now discussed with you the main aspects covered by your address to me, but I take advantage of the opportunity of your presence to address to you some observations upon the present conditions particularly in Calcutta. I notice in a number of newspapers, and even intemperate letters appearing in newspapers from well-known and respected citizens, that there is a suggestion that the Government (the Government of India or the Government of Bengal) has lost patience, abandoned restraint, and has initiated a policy described as one of repression. I desire to draw your attention and that of the public to the inaccuracy of this representation. The Government has been consistent in its attitude. I have myself, so long as I have been at the head of the Government of India, stated many times that it was the primary duty of Government to maintain order and to see that the law was respected. That is merely an elementary truth requiring no elaboration. There came a moment on November 17th, particularly in Calcutta, when according to the reports to me—and you who live here are after all the best judges of the facts—there was intimidation, coercion and unlawful pressure brought to bear upon persons to take action in which they did not believe, not by mere argument (that would be different) but by threats, direct or indirect, of the consequences to them if they did not join in the movement desired. In Calcutta the result was an outcry from law-abiding citizens and this symptom was manifested in different provinces in the great cities. Government was bound to protect the law-abiding citizens. Government, in accordance with its duty, took action to prevent a recurrence of these incidents and insisted that law-abiding citizens should be protected and should be entitled to act as they pleased provided their action was in accordance with the law. The

Address of Welcome from the Bengal Mahajan Sabha at Calcutta.

only change, so far as the Government is concerned, is that when this period of violence (because intimidation and threats of this character are only a form of violence) supervened the Government made its power and authority felt. It has been represented that this is a policy of repression : indeed, it is suggested that it is violent repression. I have tried to put into simple and plain language the position which the Government has adopted in enforcing the law of the land. A number of citizens have been arrested here in Calcutta and elsewhere. I can assure you that it causes me great regret to see citizens of reputation and respectability defying the law for political reasons with the consequence that they are prosecuted and placed in prison. But the leaders and their followers take this course deliberately for the purpose of being arrested : they are courting arrest : it is their definite and avowed policy. Indeed, the boast has been made that they place the Government in a dilemma for either the Government has to abandon its policy or else it would continue arresting and prosecuting, and it is said that in either case the Government is in an unhappy position. The first horn of the dilemma no Government can contemplate, and I know that in what I am saying to you in this as in all other respects I not only speak my own view but I also give expression to that of His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal. I have had the opportunity of frequently conferring with him since I have been here. We have together discussed the situation and we are in complete agreement. These arrests are in most instances forced upon the Government. The Government does not seek them : no Government would wish to make arrests of this character. But the avowed policy is to compel the authorities to arrest and when the arrests have taken place to arouse sympathy

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for the persons arrested ; and a number of citizens of this city and elsewhere, including particularly the more youthful, are swayed by emotion at the thought of those persons being in prison. Then demonstrations are made to force the Government to make more arrests.

Well, that is the situation I believe quite dispassionately stated. I should be sorry to say one word which would increase the state of tension that exists and, in particular, I should be very sorry to say anything that would seem to be ungenerous criticism of persons who in a wave of emotion take action which brings them into conflict with the authorities in the town. The policy of Government of preventing intimidation and unlawful oppression and of enforcing due regard for law is one in which Government must persist. Government never takes action—never should take action—unless it has considered the consequences in all their bearings. An individual may take an impulsive action and, if he suffers, the loss falls upon him. But Governments are in positions of great trust and responsibility and must always consider the results of the policy they intend to adopt. I do not, however, want it to be thought for one moment that the Government's only policy is prosecution and arrest. Indeed, I have already on previous occasions indicated the actions of the Government to bring about better conditions and I have on many occasions when insisting upon the maintenance of law and order observed also that there is no intention by Government to interfere with opposition to Government, with the expression of strong feelings against Government or against Government action provided that the law is duly observed. Again, I trust I have made plain that Government never wished to shut out discussion. Quite the opposite. Again

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(I speak of my own utterances because I know them best) I have on many occasions since I arrived indicated that my Government wished to know and to remedy legitimate grievances indeed, this is a proper function of Government and I have been always ready to hear those who wish to bring problems to the Government for solution : certainly nothing that has happened to this moment has changed this policy. No greater fallacy exists : there is no greater mistake than to suggest that the Government means only to govern by resort to force and all that is consequent upon it. I have had too much experience as a lawyer, a judge and, above all, as a man not to know the value of hearing the views of all sides. It often results in dispelling suspicion and removing misunderstanding.

I make these observations because of statements appearing in the newspapers - in particular one from four Members of the Legislative Assembly and another from the National Liberal League addressed to me and to the Governor of Bengal which deserve attention. In my observations to you I have dealt generally with the views reflected in their statements. I could not detain you by examining them more in detail. There are, however, some reported statements of treatment by soldiers and police which I trust are inaccurate. It is said that mistakes have been made and that some irritation has been displayed. I do not know the facts. But some consideration should also be shown to those who have to keep order in very trying and difficult circumstances. No one will doubt that those who are trying to preserve order should show proper consideration to citizens. If there is ground for complaint, and as I have said I do not know the facts, I am

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sure that steps will be taken to ensure that there should be no undue violence or undue interference.

I am grateful to you for your kind wishes for the health and prosperity of Lady Reading and myself, and especially for the wish that you express that the hearts of the people of this great country may be won, as it is my earnest wish that they may be won, to a lasting confidence and trust in the deep interest that not only I but Her Excellency with me take in their welfare and in the affectionate regard which we already have for them.

**21st Decem- DEPUTATION OF VARIOUS LEADING PERSONS FROM DIFFERENT
ber 1921. PROVINCES AT CALCUTTA.**

A deputation, consisting of various leading persons from different provinces, presented an address to His Excellency the Viceroy at Belvedere to-day, reviewing the present political situation, and urging His Excellency to call a conference to make practical suggestions and recommendations concerning the remedies which should be adopted. The deputation was headed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who read the address.

His Excellency the Viceroy in reply said : —

Pandit Malaviya, Mrs. Besant, and Gentlemen,—When I was informed that a deputation of representatives of various shades of political opinion wished to wait upon me for the purpose of placing their views on the situation and suggestions for allaying the present unrest, I gladly assented and I am pleased to receive you here to-day, for I know that you have come with one object only, that is, to do what you conceive to be the best in the interests of your country and to promote its

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welfare. I am perfectly sure that you are actuated solely by disinterested motives (I have had the pleasure of meeting nearly all of you before to-day) and I do not, I assure you, underrate the importance and the influence of those who are present here this morning.

The immediate purpose of your representations is that I should invite leading representatives of all shades of political opinion to a conference—in your words “to take counsel together and consider practical suggestions and recommendations concerning the remedies which should be adopted ;” and you recommend—indeed, your language is that it seems imperative—that the various notifications and proclamations recently issued by the Government should be withdrawn and all persons imprisoned as the result of their operations immediately released. I can scarcely conceive that you have intended to present to me such recommendations without having in your minds, as a necessary corollary, the equally imperative necessity for the discontinuance of those activities which have led Government to adopt the measures now forming the subject of discussion. I do not propose to discuss these measures but I will assume that they form the subject, as I know, of acute controversy. They were adopted by Government with the object of giving protection to law-abiding citizens particularly here in Calcutta and in other parts of India—I have already said it was not a new policy ; it was the application of the policy which lies at the very root of all civilised government, *i.e.*, the maintenance of law and the preservation of order. But nevertheless I will assume, as your language indicates, that there are considerable doubts as to this policy, and that differences of opinion exist as to the necessity or the advisability of the measures taken. The opinions of Governments are formed upon a general presentation

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of facts, they cannot be lightly arrived at, and they necessarily are the opinions of persons to whom great positions of trust and responsibility have been confided. I mention this, not that you should be asked to accept the dictum of the Government, but merely for the purpose of emphasising to you the reasons for this policy.

The tenour of your address implies your recognition, in which I cordially agree, of the need of a calm and serene atmosphere for a conference. Indeed, in my judgment, it is impossible even to consider the convening of a conference if agitation in open and avowed defiance of law is meanwhile to be continued. Unfortunately, I look in vain in your address for any indication that these activities will cease. I fully understand that none of you is in a position to give an assurance to this effect, for none of you have been authorised to make it. I hope that I shall not be misinterpreted. I am not suggesting any reproach to anyone concerned. All I mean is that whatever hopes may have been entertained have not been realised, and that therefore when we are meeting to-day—necessarily rather hurriedly in view of circumstances—the assurance for which I confess I had been looking as a necessary part of this discussion is not forthcoming. I quite appreciate that there may have been difficulties in the brief time allowed and also in the great distances separating us. I do not know from the address presented to me what view is taken by the leaders who are responsible for non-co-operation activities in the sense that I find no assurance from them that these activities will cease if a conference were to be convened. I am asked, without such an assurance, to withdraw Government measures called into operation by Government under an existing law for the protection of law-

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abiding citizens and to release all those arrested for defying this law. I cannot believe that this was the intention of the deputation when originally suggested, for it would mean that throughout the country intimidation and unlawful oppression and other unlawful acts should be allowed to continue whilst Government action to maintain order and protect the law-abiding citizen would be largely paralysed. I need scarcely tell you that no responsible Government could even contemplate the acceptance of such a state of public affairs; neither can I really believe that you ever intended it, for it would suggest that Government should abandon one of its primary functions.

I have no doubt that most of you come under the same impression as myself when I intimated in reply to a request from Pandit Malaviya that I would willingly receive this deputation. It is very necessary that I should make plain that all discussion between myself and Pandit Malaviya, preliminary to this deputation, proceeded upon the basis of a genuine attempt—I believe a disinterested and honourable attempt—to solve the problems of unrest by means of discussion and consideration at a conference, and that meanwhile there should be a cessation of activities on both sides—of unlawful operations on the part of the non-co-operationists and of Government prosecutions and imprisonments. I wish it had been possible to consider the convening of a conference in the same atmosphere as characterised the discussions between Pandit Malaviya and myself. I would wish nothing better and nothing more conducive to beneficial results and more in accordance with patriotism. Let me add—speaking not only for myself but also for all the members of my Executive Council, whom I have naturally consulted upon the situation that has arisen—nothing is further from our wishes than the arrests and imprisonments of citizens

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—more particularly citizens of reputation, or sons of men of high honour and reputation in the country, whose emotions have led them into conflict with the law. I do not hesitate to say that I hate this making of numerous arrests and prosecutions. But nevertheless, so long as there is open defiance of law, Governments have no other course. There may be discussions about measures. I can quite conceive that men in high positions and understanding of public affairs may wish to make representations to a Government upon a particular measure, or that in the legislatures steps may be taken for the purpose of calling attention to it. I understand that the wisdom and judgment of Governments, or of a particular Government, may be brought under consideration. All that is possible. What I cannot understand and cannot conceive is that the Indian—I am not speaking of parties; I am not speaking of creeds or of races, but that the Indian is opposed to the proper maintenance of law and to the preservation of order.

I won't recapitulate the conditions that led throughout the various provinces of India to the action taken by Governments. Indeed, here in Calcutta, the facts are too well known to require repetition, particularly after the pronouncement of His Excellency the Governor in his address to the Legislative Council on Monday last. May I observe now that I am not suggesting that there can be no excesses by those entrusted with authority; some may have occurred. It is very rarely that in such a condition of affairs as existed here some excess may not happen. All that can be said has already been said by His Excellency the Governor. It is that every precaution will be taken to prevent recurrence and that every attempt will be made to ensure proper enquiry and that proper steps are taken in the result.

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I wish with all my heart that it had been possible to deal with these problems in a large and generous spirit worthy of such an occasion in the history of India. Had there been indications to this effect before me to-day in the representations which you have made in your address on the part of the leaders of non-co-operation; had the offer been made to discontinue open breaches of law for the purpose of providing a calmer atmosphere for discussion of remedies suggested, my Government would never have been backward in response. We would have been prepared to consider the new situation in the same large and generous spirit and I would have conferred with the local Governments for this purpose. I should have wished—and I know that I speak not only my own thoughts but those of Pandit Malaviya in this respect—that if such conditions had supervened, no advantage or triumph should be claimed on either side and no reproach should be made by the one to the other of having been forced to yield or of not having the courage to proceed with its campaign. I should have wished to see a new spirit introduced. In this respect I do not stand alone in addressing you. I believe that if you were to give expression to your views you would all agree with me that a new spirit should be created for the purpose of considering a conference in different circumstances and with higher hopes. I deeply regret that these are not the present conditions, and the discussion which I thought was to have proceeded on the high level of a patriotic desire by temporary mutual concession and forbearance to the finding of a solution of India's present problems, has taken the form in its present aspect of a request to the Government to abandon its action without any guarantee that the action which has led or, as we believe, forced the Government to take such action, would also

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cease. Therefore it is that to a request conveyed to me even by so influential and authoritative a deputation as yourselves to call a conference coupled as it is with the two conditions of revocation of the law and release of all the prisoners, the answer I must make is that I cannot comply with the request. Those are the conditions presented to me. Here, again, I speak not only my own views but those of those associated with me in the Government of India, who unanimously have arrived at the same conclusion in conference with me. But I should be sorry indeed if any observations I have made could be construed into a refusal for all time to consider the convening of a conference. Certainly I have not intended by the language I have used to convey that meaning to you. I have too great a regard for the value of discussion and for the consideration of suggestions and recommendations that may be made. I am not one of those who think that all wisdom is to be found in those who happen to be in positions of authority. I have had too great an experience of life not to appreciate that advantage may be derived from discussion and consultation with others who see from different angles and who may have views to put forward which had not occurred to us. But I can only act at the moment, in view of the present existing circumstances; and as they stand, for the reasons that I have given you I must express my great regret that the essential conditions for peace are not forthcoming.

Before I part from you I cannot refrain from making some brief observations on the statements in your address. I do not propose to go through them; but you refer to the action that the Government has taken in relation to the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs. I acknowledge your expressions with regard to them. You state that the Government has not yet done all that it is

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thought should have been done. That of course is a legitimate view and one with which I do not quarrel. But may I ask you momentarily to pause and think, with regard to these matters, are these really the causes of the present conditions of affairs? Ever since I have been here and frequently, as a result of consultation with those of great influence who do not represent Government, I have taken steps to meet the views presented to me in respect of the Punjab wrongs. That we have not been able to go to the full length I readily admit. I am perfectly aware of the desire on the part of many that more should be done not only from my reading but from interviews when recommendations have been very forcibly presented to me. I have not accepted them because I have thought that I could not conscientiously give effect to them.

With regard to the Khilafat, what action is it suggested the Government of India should take? We have done everything possible; I am not speaking only of my Government; I refer also to that of my predecessor—Lord Chelmsford. You are all well aware that he also made the strongest representations to His Majesty's Government at home. There are some present—particularly I see one who was at the deputation that went home to the Prime Minister. What is the fault alleged against the Government of India in this respect; where do we fail? I won't pursue the subject but I make these observations for your consideration.

One further word upon the Reforms. Let us see how we stand, because as I understand it the view presented is that in the main it is the desire for Swaraj, complete Swaraj, *i.e.*, full self-government, should be given as speedily as possible. The history is so well known to you that I only recall to you the

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one fact—that the legislatures have only begun to function this very year, and the demand is for a more extended or for complete Swaraj. Let us examine the facts. Not only have the Reforms been granted, but they are actually in operation. It cannot yet be said that they have been completely tested; and although I can sympathise with the views of those who desire that in the future, as soon as it can be properly and safely done, there should be extension, surely there is not sufficient reason in this respect for an acute crisis, as is suggested in your address. But I won't analyse further.

I would ask you who represent various shades of opinion to consider the present situation. I have already told you of my Government's dislike of arrests and imprisonment. I know that you yourselves have strong feelings upon the subject. You tell me in the address that we are proceeding to an acute crisis. It may be that we may have a more disturbed condition of affairs than at present. If the law is defied, whatever the reason, all the incidents that unfortunately accompany challenge of law and of which we have seen instances only during the recent year may quickly follow. I appeal to you to observe the conditions to-day and in the future, and urge that we should all seek a high level above party or political advantage, otherwise we shall all be failing in our duty to India. I remind you that whatever reforms may be desired in the present constitutional system, they can only come through the British Parliament. The only constitutional method, the only peaceful solution is by the British Parliament amending the Government of India Act. Therefore it is so important that a proper impression should be made upon the British Parliament and the British people who are represented by that Parliament. For

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the vast majority of the population in India are loyal to the Crown whatever their views may be about other political controversies. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will arrive in Calcutta within the next three days. He has nothing to do with the political controversies that are agitating us at the moment. Yet every attempt is being made to prevent the success of his visit. I shall not discuss or characterise those attempts. But I must utter the warning that every man who lends himself to an affront to the Prince of Wales is doing incalculable injury to India and her fortunes in the future. We hold His Royal Highness in deep affection and admiration. Apart altogether from the personal aspect, an affront to the Heir-Apparent when he comes to India to make acquaintance with India is an affront to the British people, for the Crown with us is beloved by the people; and when I remind you that it is from those British people that any amendment must come to alter the constitutional system of India, I trust I shall have shown how necessary it is to cultivate good relations between the British Parliament and our legislatures here, between the British and the Indian peoples.

Let me leave you with this last appeal—that we may together, each in his own way, continue, notwithstanding apparent discouragement, to try to maintain the high level for the good of India. If we do, there will not only not be any insuperable obstacle, but I believe it would be possible to arrive at conditions of peace and tranquillity. Notwithstanding that we have not been able to arrive to-day at the result you wished, I trust that we shall have established relations—or continued them because they already exist in many cases—whereby we may still work together with a belief in each other, notwithstanding that we may differ in opinion, for the welfare of India and India's people.

1st Decem-
ber 1921. OPENING OF THE ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE INDIAN SOCIETY
OF ORIENTAL ART, CALCUTTA.

His Excellency the Viceroy opened the 13th Annual Exhibition of the Indian Society of Oriental Art on the afternoon of the 21st December.

His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the Exhibition, said :—

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am glad to have this opportunity of making this brief encroachment on the domain of Art from the preoccupations which at present are mine—and I think I am not saying too much when I also say Your Excellency's. I am glad that I have had the opportunity to come here and open this Exhibition in this informal way. I know perfectly well the interest that Your Excellency has taken throughout in this modern school of Indian painting and I am looking forward to see the Exhibition myself to day. I feel now that I am here and I look round, that my mind is replete with visions of colour, beauty, form, atmosphere, light and shade and all that makes Art for the reproduction by the trained mind through the gifted eye of these beauties of nature which are so difficult to translate by the medium of the brush. I find myself also especially pleased when I remember that there is one famous among you—Abanindra Nath Tagore—who has a special association with me inasmuch as together we received Honorary Degrees the other day. When His Excellency the Governor as befitting his rank as Chancellor of the University had his Honorary Degree conferred upon him, he proceeded to confer an Honorary Degree on me and then on the distinguished member of your Association. I am myself specially pleased to find that the University recognises Art and especially modern Art which is growing up here in India. You have your past associations with Art which ought to be a very great inducement for the future. To cultivate Art now-a-days

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is to remember all that happened in the past—whether influenced or not by the modern development in Europe I am still unaware of. I will possibly be able to follow some of the non-expert opinion when I travel round and see the pictures. It is an inducement and I trust that in time modern Art in India will be one of the efforts of India manifesting itself through its own medium, by its own representation of beauties which are to be found in every corner and in every place in India. I now therefore have much pleasure in declaring this Exhibition open.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MUHAMMADAN COMMUNITY OF BENGAL. 22nd December 1921.

In reply to an Address of Welcome from the Muslims of Bengal at Calcutta, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I thank you very heartily for your cordial welcome to Her Excellency and to myself on the occasion of our visit to the City of Calcutta, and I appreciate it the more as coming from so representative a body as the Muhammadans of Bengal.

You take the opportunity, and very legitimately, of representing to me again in temperate, but none the less forceful, language the views which the Muhammadans not only of Bengal but throughout India hold on the subject of the Turkish question. I gather from the address which I have just heard that you identify yourselves completely with the rest of the Muhammadan population both in India and elsewhere in the views taken by your community regarding the Treaty of Sevres. I assure you that it is not necessary, although it is

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quite natural, that you should tell me that the feeling is as acute now as it has been since the Treaty was signed. I quite understand it. Indeed, if I hadn't been aware of it from other sources, the deputations that have waited upon me, the representations that have been made to my Government, and my constant reading of the views presented on behalf of the Muhammadans of India would leave me in no doubt. We have also, let me add, left His Majesty's Government in no doubt as to what those views are.

You discuss in some detail the points but you do not elaborate them and rightly because they have been so forcibly presented already on other occasions and because we are well aware of them and you know the answers made. I want however to assure you that I fully appreciate your expressions of gratitude for the efforts which the Government of India has already made on behalf of the Muhammadans of India, and they act as a definite encouragement to me and to my Government. We realise that notwithstanding that your feelings are just as tense as they ever have been on the subject, you really believe that the Government of India, both in the time of my predecessor Lord Chelmsford and in my own, have done and are doing all that is possible to represent your views. I am glad to notice that you appreciate that, because, in truth, having studied the situation very carefully from the moment that I became Viceroy, I have been fully aware of the intense feelings stirred among you by the Treaty which you believe were an injury to and an injustice to the Muhammadan cause and to your religion.

I need not assure you that for myself I have the deepest sympathy for the religious convictions of Muhammadans and

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that I quite appreciate the feelings aroused in them not the less keen because in numbers they constitute a minority. I fully appreciate what it means to be in a minority in representations made on behalf of religion ; and you may rely on my continued whole-hearted support of the views you present to His Majesty's Government ; I shall pursue the policy of my predecessor and of my own Government in seeking by every means in our power to impress upon the Government at home how strong, how deep is Muhammadan feeling here, and I shall press upon His Majesty's Government the arguments used by you and give them the support which for my part I can conscientiously, legitimately, and sympathetically give.

You may naturally say you have had this support in the past and you have it now. May I parenthetically observe in this connection, if I may be permitted to repeat a consideration that I put yesterday :—I understand the agitation of the Muhammadan to continue his representations to my Government to bring them to bear upon the Government at home ; but I do not yet know in what respect it is said that the Government of India has failed to represent the views of the Muhammadans in India. You may say, and I think rightly and legitimately—Nothing results ; unless we get results we do not feel that our representations are having effect. If I may try to put together the opinions of Muhammadans whom I have met in India and express them in a sentence, I would say that the Muhammadans feel that they have the sympathy and the support of the Government of India, but they do not feel that this is bringing about the results they desire in the modification of the Treaty. Let me ask you not too lightly to come to that conclusion. I am not going to recapitulate the events that have happened—the deputation in which His Highness the

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Aga Khan took part; the deputations again which took place before or since, and the one which in March of this year saw the Prime Minister when the Prime Minister made the statement which, whatever else may result, ought to give satisfaction with regard to the freeing of Constantinople from the control of the Allies. I am not going to refer to them in detail because you are familiar with those representations. They have appeared in the Press and also in the published telegrams from Mr. Montagu to Dr. Ansari. I do desire to impress upon you that representations made by the Government of India are having, I hope and believe, more effect than perhaps you are aware. I cannot discuss the situation with you publicly because in these international matters it is not possible; it is an international situation of delicacy and complexity into which I cannot enter for reasons which you will understand. But one ray of hope I can give you, and that is—that I have heard from the Secretary of State within the last few days that the many representations which I and my Government have made have had, and are having, a good effect, and that he has reason to hope that they will prove successful in bringing about a satisfactory settlement with Turkey at an early date. He assures me (though I am sure that you needed no such assurance) that he himself has been and is sparing no effort and losing no opportunity to bring this about. Well, gentlemen, that is the situation and I can only trust that peace may come soon. I noticed quite recently in a publication that there will be discussion—I think the publication said at Paris and in January next—at which the British Government proposes to bring forward this question and in this way hopes to achieve a settlement. Therefore I would ask you, whilst thanking you for your good wishes and appreciating very fully what you have said about the

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Government of India's efforts as well as my own for the Muhammadans of India, to bear in mind that although the results are not immediately visible because at the present moment we have not yet arrived at peace or even public conference, nevertheless the views of the Muhammadans of India are having more effect than you realise. When I say that, I hope I shall not be misunderstood. Above all, I am particularly anxious that there should never be any misconstruction of any observations I may make. I do not mean to lead you to the conclusion that you will succeed in obtaining all you are putting forward. I wish you could, and I would certainly help all in my power. What I do mean is that I believe that the conclusion will be very different from that of 1920, and that you will find, even if you do not obtain all you ask, that you will have gained very substantially and you will have no reason to regret the steps taken to impress through the Government of India upon His Majesty's Government how deep and tense the feelings of Muhammadans are.

In conclusion will you let me say to you that from the first moment of my association with India I have always had not only great sympathy but also the greatest wish to bring about a settlement which would really satisfy the Muhammadans of India. Nothing could give me greater pleasure. My last word to you is that I trust that nothing that you may hear, or that you may see in print, will lead you to accept the view that the British Government is hostile to Islam or the Islamic religion. Believe me, nothing is further from the truth—apart altogether from Britain's friendship for Moslems—if there is one standing principle of British Government and of the association of nations making for the rule of Britain throughout the world,

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it is and has always been that religion should be treated apart from politics, that due regard should be had invariably to the many religions which find their place within the British Empire.

2nd January
1922.

STATE BANQUET AT BIKANER.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading, accompanied by their personal staff, paid a brief visit to Bikaner, leaving Delhi on the 27th December 1921, and returning on the 3rd January 1922. The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet given by His Highness the Maharaja, of Bikaner on the 2nd January 1922 :—

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank your Highness very warmly for the welcome you have given to Her Excellency and to me, and for the efforts you have made to make our stay as agreeable as possible. You have treasured the opportunities of giving this welcome to other Viceroys. The welcome to us on this occasion is worthy of a Prince of India. It is princely in generous hospitality, but even more attractive is the princely character of gracious courtesy and consideration which leads you to think day by day and almost hour by hour of the pleasures that you may be able to offer, not only to Her Excellency and to me, but to the rest of your guests. Hospitality and the dispensing of it are perhaps greater tests than are generally recognised. Hospitality does not merely consist, as you so well recognise, in entertainment on a sumptuous scale, true hospitality consists—as is so well understood here in the East—in that sensitiveness of response to the thoughts passing through the minds of your honoured guests,

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which leads you to give effect by the swiftest and most successful means to their wishes.

I realise that this hospitality is to me as Viceroy—His Majesty's representative—and that you, the Ruler of this State, find pleasure, may I say a privilege to entertain the King's representative. If only on that ground I should be glad to have been your guest ; but there is also a personal note reflected in your observations which found a full and echoing response in my mind ; not only are you entertaining me as Viceroy, but also as a former colleague in the Imperial War Cabinet, when I rejoiced to note that India and India's States were represented in that important assembly. When again we met throughout the anxious period of the Peace Conference we lived in the same establishment and were in the habit of frequent converse and intercourse. I then learned to value not only the sagacity but the broad outlook and the wise judgment of His Highness. There were sown the seeds of a riper friendship which found its response in one of the first messages sent to me from India when I was appointed Viceroy ; it came from His Highness full of thoughtful wishes for success and of realisations of responsibilities. It has been my good fortune again to meet His Highness as Chancellor at the Chamber of Princes where I had the duty and, let me say also, the privilege to preside. I saw him re-elected as Chancellor, notwithstanding his protestations on the ground of his other occupations ; and now I find myself here in this great sandy plain where, without being quite able to picture how it is done, I have been transported from one palace here to another at Gajner where it seemed to me that I was in the land of imagination, of the fairies of whom I read and heard in my youth. The enchanted palace was there, and

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all that a human being could do to make not only our stay, but that of all assembled there, as happy, as pleasant, as enjoyable as it could be was achieved by His Highness. And if that had not already sufficed to enhance our friendship, there fell from you to-night words of appreciation of the lady who has honoured me with her company during so many years. I think Your Highness must be gifted with an extra sense: you must know, and have divined its significance from your own experience, what the assistance of Her Excellency has meant to me in any service I have been asked to perform. I thank you and shall say no more than that you have put into words that which generally lies buried very deep in the male heart.

His Highness has referred to the work in front of the Princes of India. He has mentioned also some sinister aspersions and evil motives attributed to them. If I have heard of them they have left no impression. I have not the faintest doubt indeed, who that has studied recent events would have doubt of the loyalty and devotion of the Princes of India to the King-Emperor? That there are difficult times ahead is perhaps not questionable, but I am not minded to-night to discuss general political conditions of India. His Highness has referred to them very briefly in the general survey of the present time. Certainly I do not minimize them, neither am I inclined to exaggerate them. Like His Highness I have a very firm belief in human nature, and I noted His Highness' observations on the robust common-sense of the Indian people. Although we differ in many characteristics in East and West, yet fundamentally we are the same; we live very largely the same lives and are swayed by reason and by generous sentiments. Unfortunately reason is sometimes swayed by passion. I have

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observed that here passion is too often generated by a mistaken—at times a misrepresented—view of the intentions of the Government of India. I have spoken so recently on this subject that I shall not repeat myself to-night. I shall only say that it is a mistake to imagine that a desire to meet the legitimate wishes of those who believe they have grievances is weakness. It is possible to be firm and yet conciliatory. I shall leave this subject, tempting as it is, interesting as it must be, with the observation that the desire of my Government, as His Highness so truly recognised, is to do that which is best and wisest in the interests of India and the interests of the Empire.

I shall not dwell to-night upon the part the Princes will be called upon to play in the future of India. We have had opportunities of discussing some of these questions in the Chamber of Princes. I am glad to hear that His Highness and his brother Princes have appreciated such efforts as I was able to make. His Highness rightly adjudged that I shall always be pleased to discuss, to consider and to consult with the Princes of India upon the affairs that so vitally interest them.

Standing here in this hall, in this fort, in this State, with this Prince, I must make some observations before leaving you. Since I first set foot in this State I have examined, I have considered and have admired. It must be a wonderful experience to reign as the twenty-first ruler of the State, and as the twelfth Maharaja. The quality of the eclectic is well marked in Your Highness; you have displayed it in extracting from the West the special knowledge of the West and applying it wisely and judiciously to the special environments of the East. In itself this is a notable accomplishment. At this moment I think of His Highness as I saw him to-day—as I see him now—at the

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head of his forces at the review on his own parade, in his own country, on his own soil. I see him riding at the head a proud figure, and yet with the consciousness of responsibility, a fine figure, a resplendent figure. I thought to-day as I saw him approach, here is a presentation in the twentieth century of Rajput chivalry. Rapidly my thoughts travelled from the gorgeous and beautiful uniform and from the honours resplendent upon his breast, which have been showered upon His Highness, to him as ruler and administrator. Look at his achievement in administration. I have had the advantage of reading and studying the records of this State. I recall Your Highness' advent to the *gaddi* when seven years old with a Council of Regency until your majority, and then I see Your Highness striving forward swiftly till, after a little over twenty years of administration, you have the proud satisfaction of observing that the revenues of your State have increased from 20 lakhs, as they were when you first administered them, to over 80 lakhs as they are at the present day. And here this very gratifying subject must be left for to-night.

It must indeed be gratifying to a father's heart to see his son learning, whilst his father is still young, to shoulder the burdens and bear the responsibilities of State administration. It would be difficult to select for a father a pleasure which could equal that. If I may congratulate His Highness on having the assistance of his son, while still so young, and when many of his age might be devoting themselves to lighter pursuits, may I be allowed also to congratulate his son upon possessing so young, so picturesque and so attractive a father.

Let me add that it is my firm conviction that whatever might happen, whatever might befall in the future, Bikaner will

Unveiling of the Lady Hardinge Statue at Delhi.

be true to its traditions and will be staunch and faithful to the Crown.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I shall ask you to drink the health of our host, His Highness the Maharaja. He has revelled in gathering his friends together and in giving them all the pleasure in his power to bestow. I invite all here assembled to join in wishing health, happiness and all prosperity to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

UNVEILING OF THE LADY HARDINGE STATUE AT DELHI.

13th February 1922.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading visited the Lady Hardinge Medical College on the afternoon of the 13th February and Her Excellency unveiled the statue of Lady Hardinge. His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech:—

Her Excellency and I find special interest in visiting this unique institution, and in taking part in the ceremony to-day. Its avowed purpose is the unveiling of the statue of Lady Hardinge, whose name will for ever be associated with this College—the most permanent of the records left by Lady Hardinge of her profound and sympathetic interest in the women of India. The statue is the generous gift of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, who has added to this benefaction by the donations he has made for the establishment of the College. His Exalted Highness has given within the last few days practical demonstration by a further handsome donation of his special interest in this College. Those who had the privilege of acquaintance with Lady Hardinge will appreciate the remarks made about the excellent workmanship of the statue. It stands appropriately here as a mark of the admiration of those who

Unveiling of the Lady Hardinge Statue at Delhi.

know the devoted enthusiasm with which the late Lady Hardinge entered upon the task of founding the College which bears her name. It is very fitting that the statue should be placed in the College precincts to commemorate not only her sympathy for the women of India, but also the energy with which she pressed forward a scheme that none can regard save with profound appreciation.

This College has unique aspects ; it is devoted to the medical education of the women of India, and draws women from all parts of India not excluding the distant Presidency of Madras and also from the States of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India, and thus it is deserving and should receive the most generous support.

General Sir William Edwards has told us that not only is a capital sum of five lakhs required but, as I understand, it is also necessary to raise the income of the College by one and a half lakhs per annum. As regards annual income, the Government of India already contribute two lakhs a year for the maintenance of the College. Its teaching is of benefit throughout India ; and both the Provinces and the Indian States benefit so largely from it that it would not be inappropriate if its further developments were financed from Provincial funds and such contributions as the Durbars, with their usual generosity, are willing to provide. Some Durbars already make an annual grant for which the College is grateful. I earnestly trust that the appeal which the Governing Body of the College has issued in this direction may be successful, and that the comparatively modest sum still required for maintenance may be found.

I have described this institution as unique. I like to think of it as a foretaste of what may be achieved in India in the way

Unveiling of the Lady Hardinge Statue at Delhi.

of the emancipation of women and the enhancement of their comfort and their status. After all one-half of the vast population of India belong to a sex which, no less than man, requires medical assistance. The customs of the country in certain areas demand that such assistance should be afforded by women. Yet the number of Indian women possessing medical degrees is altogether insignificant. It should be one of our principal aims, not merely in medical, but also in other forms of education to give all the assistance that we can give to a half of the population which, I cannot help feeling, may perhaps in our discussions and in our schemes be sometimes overlooked. In 1923 this College will begin to turn out graduates in medicine, who will be available for alleviating the sufferings of their sisters throughout the country. Even so, their number will be incommensurate. But it is a good beginning and one which cannot fail to rouse the imagination with regard to possible achievements in the future. No nation can afford to rest content with a one-sided development, which leaves out of consideration, not only a whole sex but also the well-being of the children who are the hope of the future

“The woman’s cause is man’s, they rise or sink

Together, dwarf’d or godlike, bond or free.”

I well know that there are parts of India where the purdah system is unknown, and where education and free social intercourse are, and always have been elements in the life of women. But I am speaking of the country at large assuredly not by way of criticism, for these ancient customs have their foundation in history and are deserving of respect but with reference to the hopes we entertain regarding the national welfare and therein this essential matter of the health of women and young children.

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Unveiling of the All-India King Edward the Seventh Memorial at Delhi.

Her Excellency takes the greatest interest not only in this College but in all those activities which make for the welfare of the women and children in India. She has recently issued an appeal for various purposes connected with this object, and this College in its capital requirements figures largely among those purposes. She has felt it a proud privilege to unveil this statue to-day, and you may rest assured that this testimony of her sympathetic interest in these matters will not end with this ceremony or even with the appeal she is making and as I know her, will carry to its successful conclusion. It is her ardent desire and her firm intention that she, like her predecessors, may contribute to the happiness of the women in India. There can be no contentment and happiness for the men in India unless the women and children are made happy and contented, and the opportunities afforded by this College all tend to make for health and happiness. I know it is Her Excellency's firm conviction that she cannot better manifest her love for India than in devoting herself to helping the women and children of India. Among Her Excellency's predecessors, who laboured for this purpose, there is none whose name will be more dearly cherished than that borne by this College.

15th February 1922.

UNVEILING OF THE ALL-INDIA KING EDWARD THE SEVENTH
MEMORIAL AT DELHI.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales unveiled the All-India King Edward the Seventh Memorial at Delhi on the 15th February. His Excellency the Viceroy in inviting His Royal Highness to perform the ceremony said :—

*May it please Your Royal Highness,—*In inviting Your Royal Highness to perform the ceremony of unveiling the statue

Unveiling of the All-India King Edward the Seventh Memorial at Delhi.

erected as the All-India Memorial to your illustrious and well-beloved grandfather, the King-Emperor Edward VII, I feel assured that the occasion will not only make a profound personal appeal to Your Royal Highness, but will also strike a responsive chord in the hearts of millions of your revered father's loyal Indian subjects. This Memorial is the outcome of an appeal made by the late Earl of Minto, Viceroy of India at the time, soon after the lamented death of His Imperial Majesty, in response to a great popular movement for the perpetuation in a permanent and concrete form of his all too short but illustrious reign over his Indian Empire.

The fund aimed at was five lakhs of rupees, and a maximum limit of Rs. 5,000 was fixed for subscriptions in order that the field might be as wide as possible. In a very short time the total sum was subscribed representing the offerings of nearly eighty thousand persons of all sections of the community from all parts of the vast continent of India.

The commanding site on which the Memorial, a superb equestrian statue executed by Sir Thomas Brock, has been erected, was chosen by His Excellency Lord Hardinge. Out of the fund, an adequate investment has been set apart for the maintenance of the memorial garden which has been laid out round the statue.

It is now ten years since, on the 8th December 1911, His Imperial Majesty King George V placed in position the memorial tablet on the pedestal. Work on the statue was progressing favourably, when the outbreak of the great war caused a cessation of such activities. The delay in the execution of the project has now reached a happy and auspicious ending by affording to Your Royal Highness the opportunity of performing the filial duty of unveiling the Memorial.

State Banquet at Delhi.

Four days after the foundation-stone of this monument was laid, the seat of the Government of India was, by His Imperial Majesty's Royal command, transferred to the ancient Capital of Delhi. It is thus in the Capital of India that the All-India Memorial to our late beloved Sovereign has been most fittingly erected. Here the statue will stand as a memorial to all time of a most noble King who, in the words inscribed on the pedestal, was the father of his people, whose voice stood for wisdom in the councils of the world, whose reign was a blessing to his well-beloved India, an example to the great and an encouragement to the humble, and whose name shall be handed down from father to son through all ages as a merciful and benevolent ruler, and a mighty and just Emperor who loved his people and sought their peace and happiness.

On behalf of the Committee of the All-India Memorial I have now the honour of asking Your Royal Highness to unveil this statue, and to entrust it to the safe keeping of future generations of the loyal Indian subjects of Your Royal and Imperial House.

15th February
1922.

STATE BANQUET AT DELHI.

In proposing the health of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at the State Dinner at Delhi on the 15th February, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

It is my privilege now to propose the health of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. All here rejoice in this opportunity to welcome His Royal Highness and to wish him long life and happiness. Not only do we gladly give expression to this wish for him as the heir-apparent to the throne, but also

State Banquet at Delhi.

because none who is acquainted with the history of the last few years can fail to appreciate how great is the interest of us all who are citizens of the Empire in the young Prince now with us.

We know His Royal Highness as a Prince ever eager to render service to the Empire. We know His Royal Highness as a soldier. He has won his spurs on the battlefields of France, and we daily witness the profound interest he takes in those who have served their country and particularly those who contributed so notably to the successful conclusion of the Great War. His Royal Highness has already seen many of the great fighting races of India—the Mahrattas, the Rajputs and the Gurkhas, and he will soon have an opportunity of meeting the Sikhs, the Pathans and other warriors of the north.

We know His Royal Highness also as a sportsman. I refer, not so much to his prowess in the hunting and racing fields, the polo ground and elsewhere as to that combination of qualities usually associated with the term “sportsman” in its wider and higher aspects, and which we of the British Empire are accustomed by instinct and training to regard as a necessary equipment of those destined to lead in human affairs. His Royal Highness has shown that he possesses the essential qualities of the combination, for he has proved himself courageous, cheerful and chivalrous. It is thus inevitable that he should make lasting impressions upon the public mind.

His Royal Highness' labours in his previous tours were labours of love, but they imposed a heavy tax on his health, which necessitated a temporary postponement of his visit to India. It was no light responsibility for me to recommend to His Majesty the King-Emperor that His Royal Highness so soon after the recovery from the strain of his travels in the

State Banquet at Delhi.

Dominions, be invited to fulfil his promise to visit the Indian Empire during the present year. But having been assured that His Royal Highness had completely recovered his health, I felt I could not, in view of the ardent desire of the Princes and peoples of India to meet their future Emperor and to show their devotion and loyalty to the Crown, advise a further postponement. We rejoice to find after the experience of the past three months, and when His Royal Highness has performed the greater part of the varied programme of his Indian tour, that he has achieved a veritable triumph, mainly due to his own personality. In my judgment His Royal Highness has never performed a greater service or, may I be permitted to say, acquitted himself more nobly.

He has had an opportunity of seeing most of the Provinces and the leading States in India. There remain only the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province before he leaves the shores of India at Karachi. This is not the proper occasion for a review of the events of His Royal Highness' travels up to date, but I am convinced that, in spite of certain misguided efforts to mar the success of the visit, His Royal Highness has strengthened the ties of love and reverence which bind the heart of India to the British Crown.

Wherever the Prince goes within the Empire, whether his foot is on the soil of India, the Dominions or his own homeland, and wherever he sails on the seas that are the Empire's setting, he will find that the Crown is a sacred possession common to us all, a possession of pride and reverence, a possession infinitely dear to our hearts. Our convictions to this effect have been deepened by the trials of recent years. His Royal Highness has inherited great traditions and has kept them bright. Fate

Durbar at Delhi.

has been kind to him and to us in proving him early. He stands out to-day as a great Imperial asset and the most popular of his father's subjects.

I give you the health of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

DURBAR AT DELHI.

16th February 1922.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Durbar held at the Fort, Delhi, on the 16th February :—

Your Royal Highness, Your Highnesses and Gentlemen.—

We are met here to-day to extend on behalf of the Government of India, the Ruling Princes and the two Imperial Legislatures, our loyal greetings to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on this his first visit to the Imperial Capital of India. On myself, as the Representative of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, falls the pleasant duty of initiating the proceedings on behalf of the Government of India, and in doing so I need not say how fully I appreciate the opportunity of tendering to His Royal Highness our warm and hearty welcome.

In these historic surroundings where His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught a year ago inaugurated the Chamber of Princes, I feel that the ceremony of to-day is a fitting symbol of the bond of love and sympathy which binds India to the British Crown—not merely the India of the reformed Councils but the greater India of the future,—in the Government of which the Princes and people of India will bear an ever increasing part. His Royal Highness comes, however, as I have said on more than one occasion, not as the representative of any

Durbar at Delhi.

Government or to promote the interests of any political party, but as the heir to the British Throne, anxious to acquaint himself with the thoughts and wishes of India. His Royal Highness made this clear in his first speech after landing in India when he said to the people of Bombay "I want you to know me and I want to know you". It is in this spirit that we greet His Royal Highness to-day. We feel that during the past three months the goal of mutual understanding and trust has already been reached throughout the greater part of the Indian Empire. In Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, the great cities identified with the commercial enterprise of the earlier British settlers in the East; in Lucknow and Benares, and now in Delhi, the homes of ancient culture and civilisation; in Burma, the latest aspirant for responsible Government; and in the great Indian States of Baroda, Rajputana, Central India, Hyderabad and Mysore, His Royal Highness has already, by his sincerity of purpose and charming personality, established himself in the hearts of those with whom he has been brought into contact. He has learnt to know them and they have learnt to know him.

In Delhi, the Capital of so many Kings of old and the seat of the modern Government of India, where memory clings proudly to the glorious days when Her Majesty Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India; where the Coronation of His Majesty King Edward was celebrated; and His Majesty King George the Fifth himself held his Coronation Durbar, our greeting has a special significance. Here our hearts naturally go out with affection towards the Prince who has already endeared himself to the people of Great Britain and of the Dominions beyond the seas, with whom India hopes ere long to be enrolled as a full partner in the great British Empire.

Laying of the Foundation-Stone of the Kitchener College in the New Capital.

In Your Royal Highness we acclaim the new spirit of the age, purified by the trials and tribulations of the past 7 years, eager to right wrongs and soothe distress, and above all to foster and maintain the glorious cause of justice and freedom throughout the world. Your Royal Highness, I tender to you on behalf of my colleagues and myself our warmest and most loyal greetings.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE KITCHENER
COLLEGE IN THE NEW CAPITAL.

17th February
1922.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales laid the Foundation-Stone of the Kitchener College in the New Capital on the 17th February. In inviting His Royal Highness to perform the ceremony, His Excellency the Viceroy said:—

In asking your Royal Highness to lay the foundation-stone of the Kitchener College, I shall not dwell on the services of the great man whose distinguished name it is to bear, since I understand that Your Royal Highness will allude to them in your address. I will only say that this memorial may be taken as commemorating the respect and admiration of India as a whole—the India under British Administration and the India of the States. Contributions to the building have been made not only by the Government of India, as representing the Army and the people of British India, but also by the Indian States through the “Princes’ Kitchener Memorial Fund” inaugurated by my friend, His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur. The proceeds of this Fund, to which a most generous response was made by the Ruling Princes, will be devoted to building the Lecture Hall of the College on the spot where I now stand.

Address of Welcome from the Agra Municipality.

The College will, it is hoped, form an avenue of entry to an "Indian Sandhurst" and will thus be a means of enabling the sons of Indian officers to attain full executive rank as holders of the King-Emperor's Commission. I now invite your Royal Highness to lay the foundation-stone of the Kitchener College.

11th March 1922. ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE AGRA MUNICIPALITY.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading paid a week-end visit to Agra, arriving there on the 10th of March. In replying to an Address of Welcome from the Agra Municipality, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you for your welcome to this historic city. It is a matter of great satisfaction to me to fulfil by my visit to-day a wish that has long been in my heart. It would sadly grieve both Her Excellency and myself if our first cold weather in this great Empire had passed without a visit to this ancient home of the great Akbar that forms so suitable a setting to the Taj, its chief jewel. Almost the first thought of those about to visit India is that there will be an opportunity of viewing the great monuments of Agra—dear to the hearts of all the people of this Empire and renowned throughout the world.

The Taj is a creation of such beauty that had it been more ancient it would have ranked among the seven wonders of the world. It would hold its place with the majesty of the Pyramids and the immensity of the Colossus at Rhodes. The European visitor scarcely ever fails to pay his tribute of admiration to this wonderful tomb, but it is perhaps not generally recognised how

Address of Welcome from the Agra Municipality.

remarkably popular it is as a place of visit for Indian travellers, pilgrims to Muttra and the like. A single visit to the Taj will bring one in touch with throngs from almost all parts of India.

I had the good fortune of first seeing the Taj last night immediately upon my arrival when Her Excellency and I went direct there to take advantage of the moonlight. It often happens that the first vision presented of a building celebrated for its beauty occasions disappointment, but the Taj far surpasses all descriptions I have read or heard. It represents to-day, after some 300 years sublime homage of man to woman, of a powerful Emperor to a beloved and adored Princess.

I cannot pass from my appreciation of the glories of this historic place without sounding a note of thanks, which I know you will echo, to the work of Lord Curzon, to whose personal initiative the present state of preservation of these ancient buildings and the surroundings in which they are set is largely due. I earnestly trust that these great memorials of India's past civilisation and glories will continue to receive the jealous care and attention they so fully deserve at the hands of the people of India.

I am glad to hear that the financial position of your Board is sound and you may well congratulate yourselves upon this at the present time. The attention that you have already paid to improving the communications in the district and extending technical education is worthy of the great traditions to which you aspire. The continuance of this improvement and your attempts to encourage progress in agriculture must, of course, be limited by the funds which you are able to devote to this purpose. I feel assured that the importance of these improvements which are so necessary to the welfare of the people is

Address of Welcome from the Agra Municipality.

fully realised. May I take this opportunity of congratulating you all on the fair which is, according to my information, always so well organised at Batesar. It has now become one of the biggest cattle and camel fairs in this part of India—an achievement of which you may justly be proud.

But the progress of Agra as of the rest of India depends upon peace and tranquillity in order that those who are entrusted with the administration of public affairs may devote their attention to promoting the welfare of the peoples of India.

I cannot part from you at this moment without expressing my deep sense of personal loss occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Montagu. It came to me yesterday morning as a complete surprise. The reasons for the resignation have been made public in the report of Mr. Chamberlain's statement to the House of Commons. Whatever comments and criticism may be passed here or in England upon the discharge of his duties as Secretary of State for India, his devotion to the cause of India according to his views cannot be doubted. I have been Viceroy nearly twelve months and during that period have been in the most constant and intimate communication with Mr. Montagu. Rumours have been circulated that there were differences of opinion between him, representing His Majesty's Government, and myself and my Government regarding the policy to be pursued towards non-co-operation and its leaders. There never has been the faintest ground for those rumours.

We have been in complete agreement and he as the representative of His Majesty's Government fully approved of the policy in this respect of my Government. I have seen suggestions made that we have been hindered in this respect by restrictions from the Home Government. There is not a shadow

Address of Welcome from the Bhumihaar Brahmin Community.

of foundation for this statement. It would not be right for me to detain you upon these matters of larger policy, but I could not refrain from using this opportunity to make these brief observations.

In conclusion, it has given me pleasure to meet the members of your Board to-day and to realise that the care of this district is in such zealous and capable hands.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BHUMIHAR BRAHMIN
COMMUNITY.

16th March
1922.

His Excellency the Viceroy received a deputation of the leaders of the Bhumihaar Brahmin Community at Delhi, on the 16th March and made the following reply to the address presented by them :—

Maharaj Kumar and Gentlemen,—I have to thank you to begin with for your kind references to myself. It has given me great pleasure to receive to-day this deputation of the Bhumihaar Brahmin Community. The loyalty of the landlords of India has been proved again and again—not least in the great war which terminated three years ago—and your own community, which includes many of the largest and most influential Zamindars of North India and at whose head stands His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, has behind it a long and distinguished record of services rendered to the Crown and to the Government. I welcome your assurance—though indeed none is required—that in the troublous times through which we are now passing, my Government can continue to reckon on the support which has never failed it in the past. As you justly observe, the present situation, though serious, is not unhopeful. Disorders and attempts to undermine the allegiance of the subjects and the

Address of Welcome from the Bhumi-har Brahmin Community.

servants of the Crown must be and will be suppressed with a firm hand. No one regrets more than I and my Government that there should be arrests and prosecutions, in particular of educated citizens who have been carried away by mistaken idealism or by emotional appeals. But we should be false to our primary responsibility if we failed to take whatever measures may be necessary for the countering of the seditious propaganda which aims at the subversion and paralysis of all lawfully constituted authority. We are equally conscious that our task does not end there. Parliament has given to India in the Reforms Scheme a measure of control over its own affairs far in excess of anything previously enjoyed ; my Government has given and are giving ample proof of our determination to give to that scheme the fullest and fairest trial ; and to promote in every way that lies in our power, the progress of India towards the goal which has been set before her in the memorable declaration of His Majesty's Government of August 1917. The success of these efforts is conditioned at every stage by the extent of the co-operation of the people of India with the help of the educated classes and it is, therefore, in the continuance and the development of such co-operation that the best hope for the future lies.

You have referred to the position and claims of your community when the time comes for a further step in the direction of responsible government. You will not expect me to forecast the date, the extent or the character of the constitutional changes which may be introduced in the future. But I do not think that you need be under any apprehension as to the effects on your own community. You state that circumstances connected with the passing of the Oudh Rent Act have made you feel nervous. I do not think there is anything in that Act which in any way departs either in the letter or the spirit from the

Address of Welcome from the Bhumihaar Brahmin Community.

pledges given in the past. On the contrary, my impression is that those pledges have been scrupulously observed. But you will doubtless agree with me that, though the rights of the landlords must be scrupulously preserved, it is only in consonance with the spirit of the times and its wider vision of the claims of all classes, that the tenancy law, wherever defective, should in this as in other countries, and with due regard to the rights and privileges of the landlord, be placed on an equitable footing. As I have said on a former occasion, I have no belief in conflicts between classes which admit of no solution. The interests of landlords and tenants are essentially interdependent and no one stands to gain more than the landlord by an increase in the prosperity and well-being of the cultivators of the soil. Under the present constitution the landlords are well represented in the legislature ; in the local Legislative Councils of the Provinces from which you come, they have a large number of representatives ; they have special representation in the Assembly ; and the character of the constituencies of the Council of State is such as to ensure them their fair share of its members. I entertain no doubt that under any constitution that may hereafter be set up, they will remain in a position to make their voice and influence felt.

I cannot conclude without thanking you for your expressions of loyalty and devotion to the Crown and secondly to the Government which I carry on by the authority of the King-Emperor. And I note with special satisfaction the expressions from you which, believe me, were not needed because the past has already tried and proved you, but which, nevertheless, are welcome and gratifying, more particularly in these times. You have referred to the political situation. I have not dealt with it in any detail, because I have recognised that the address which

Opening of the Lady Hardinge Memorial Hospital, Jaipur.

you have presented to me is based upon the views of your own Association, that is, the representatives of your own class and that it is in your own interests that you are putting forward these views coupled also, as I observe, may I say with special satisfaction, with attention also to the interests of the whole of India. I shall not say more at this moment on the political situation. I thank you warmly for your welcome to me.

19th March
1922.

OPENING OF THE LADY HARDINGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL,
JAIPUR.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading paid a week-end visit to Jaipur, and His Excellency the Viceroy, in opening the Lady Hardinge Memorial Hospital there on the 19th March, said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure you will all join with me in regretting that His Highness the Maharaja is unable to be present here to-day, and in wishing that he may long be spared to guide the destinies of the State.

Sir James Roberts has told us how the idea of building this hospital took shape in His Highness's mind. His deep admiration of the character of Lady Hardinge and of her courage in a sudden and terrible crisis prompted him to perpetuate her memory by some monument in his State. What had appealed to her most in her lifetime was the relief of suffering. Therefore let her memorial be, as it were, a permanent embodiment of the sympathies which had inspired her in her life.

But these beautiful buildings which I am asked to open to-day are not merely appropriate to the character of her whom

Opening of the Lady Hardinge Memorial Hospital, Jaipur.

they commemorate. They are also in keeping with the spirit of beauty which pervades Jaipur and with the spirit of paternal beneficence which has been characteristic of so many of its Rulers, and of none more than His Highness Sir Sawai Madho Singh.

It is an interesting feature of the proceedings of this morning that the great State official who has been deputed by His Highness to invite me on his behalf to open this hospital is one who was himself Surgeon to the Viceroy during all the years Lady Hardinge spent in India. In that capacity Sir James Roberts was closely associated with all her schemes for women's welfare, and he must be feeling a deep personal satisfaction in today's ceremony.

This is not the first ceremony connected with Lady Hardinge's memory in which I have been asked to take part. Only a few weeks ago Her Excellency unveiled a statue of her at the Lady Hardinge Medical College in Delhi. His Highness the Maharaja was a munificent contributor to that College, and here in his capital he has built this hospital. Both institutions serve the same great object. Both enshrine the same gracious memory and both owe their existence—the one wholly and the other in part—to the same chivalrous generosity.

May I add that it affords both Her Excellency and myself great gratification to be here today taking part in this ceremony which is intended to perpetuate the memory of a lady—a Vicerine—who was here but all too short a time, and who devoted herself to ameliorating the conditions of the women of India. His Highness the Maharaja is already famous for the munificent contributions he has made during the forty—almost forty-one—

Deputation of Members of the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, and the delegates of the Transvaal British Indian Association and of the Natal Indian Congress.

years he has sat upon the *gadi*. I esteemed it my good fortune that His Highness should have been well enough to have received me yesterday and that we were able to converse as we did for some considerable time. Her Excellency was also present at this interview and I cannot go away from this ceremony to-day without telling you that here again His Highness took the opportunity of showing the munificent spirit that is within him. His Highness informed Her Excellency and me that he intended, in memory of this our visit to Jaipur, to contribute two lakhs to charity, and then, with singularly felicitous consideration and thought, informed me that I could devote the first lakh to any charity I chose and as signalling also that fair division between Her Excellency and me, informed her that she should have the second lakh to contribute to anything she chose.

I propose now, with your assent, and at the invitation of Sir James, to unlock the door and to declare the Lady Hardinge Memorial Hospital open.

22nd March
1922.

DEPUTATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE, THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, THE IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION, AND THE DELEGATES OF THE TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION AND OF THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS.

In replying to an Address presented by the above Deputation at Delhi on the 22nd March, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy and Gentlemen.—It has given me great pleasure to receive here to-day a deputation of members of the

Deputation of Members of the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, and the delegates of the Transvaal British Indian Association and of the Natal Indian Congress.

Council of State, the Legislative Assembly, and the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, and the delegates of the Transvaal British Indian Association and of the Natal Indian Congress on the subject of the status of Indians domiciled in the Union of South Africa. You are, I am sure, well aware that the grave importance of the questions, which you have brought to my notice, has not been overlooked by the Government of India. We have twice sent Sir Benjamin Robertson to South Africa to present the Indian case before commissions appointed to enquire into various aspects of the Indian problem. We have also urged the claims of the Indians to equality of status in the Self-Governing Dominions at the Imperial Conferences of 1918 and 1921 with results that are known to all of you, and we are at the present moment in correspondence with the Union Government regarding the measures which they may take to give effect to the recommendations of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission. I cannot make public the representations and recommendations which we have made, but I can assure you that we have firmly and vigorously championed the Indian cause. Nevertheless, I regard your deputation as very opportune and must congratulate you on the ability with which you have represented your case. In the midst of the more pressing pre-occupations of internal politics, some of you may possibly have feared that my Government may have lost sight of a problem to which, as I am well aware, Indians of all classes attach the highest importance. I am glad to be able to reassure you on the point, and to inform you that my Government are following with close attention all developments in the situation of South

Deputation of Members of the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, and the delegates of the Transvaal British Indian Association and of the Natal Indian Congress.

Africa, which touch the interests of the domiciled Indian community. So long as Indians do not enjoy the full parliamentary and municipal franchise throughout the Union, the Government of India feel that they cannot wholly dissociate themselves from responsibility for the welfare of a community whose very existence originated in an organised system of recruitment to which they were in the past a consenting party.

The account which you have given of the disabilities to which Indians are subject in Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State is substantially correct, and the extent to which these can be removed or mitigated is a question to which we hope the Union Government will address itself in the near future. Our own views on the subject have been ably set out by Sir Benjamin Robertson in his statement before the Asiatic Enquiry Commission and have been embodied in the published memorandum which our representatives placed before the last Imperial Conference. I agree with you that the success in the Cape Province of the liberal and statesmanlike policy of treating Indians on the same footing as all other classes of His Majesty's British subjects affords a strong argument in favour of the adoption of a similar policy towards Indians in other provinces. The party antagonistic to Indian claims is strong and active, and it must necessarily take time before we can win over public opinion to the policy which we urge. I note with pleasure your statement that the Domiciled Indian community in South Africa desire to progress in education and are determined to prove themselves in all respects as deserving as the Europeans of the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

Deputation of Members of the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, and the delegates of the Transvaal British Indian Association and of the Natal Indian Congress.

This, I am confident, is a true avenue of advance. The British citizen, in whatever part of the world he may be, has a strong sense of fair play, and I feel sure that, when he finds his Indian fellow-citizens in the Union steadfastly proving themselves, by their conduct, useful and loyal members of the body-politic, he will not persist in withholding from them the status which they justly claim. I am glad that you recognise that it is to the Union Government that Indians must look for the redress of their grievances. While we are determined to do whatever lies within our power to forward the reasonable aspirations of Indians domiciled in the Self-Governing Dominions and to press constantly and consistently for the recognition and application of the broad principles of equal citizenship for which we contend, we are sure that you will agree that we must respect the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of the Self-Governing Dominions and that any interference that might seem to infringe this principle would not be conducive to the good of the Indian community. The resolutions of the last two Imperial Conferences regarding the status of Indians mark a distinct advance and demonstrate that public opinion throughout the Empire is moving in the direction which we desire. Time and the justice of our cause are on our side; and with patience and good-will on both sides, I do not despair of a satisfactory solution.

The Government of India share the disapproval which you have expressed of the proposal of the majority of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission that the existing rights of Indians to acquire agricultural land should be confined to the coast-belt

Deputation of Members of the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, and the delegates of the Transvaal British Indian Association and of the Natal Indian Congress.

of Natal. They do not regard the reasons adduced in support of that proposal as convincing and they trust that the Union Government will have no hesitation in rejecting it. They are equally at one with you in the objection you take to the Commission's suggestion regarding voluntary segregation, whether residential or commercial. On the question of the municipal franchise in Natal, they do not think that you need entertain any fear that the existing rights of Indians will be curtailed or withdrawn. The action of His Royal Highness the Governor-General in withholding his consent to the Natal Townships Franchise Ordinance, 1921, encourages us to hope that the Union Government will not countenance any action directed against the municipal rights now enjoyed by Indians. The restrictions on inter-provincial migration to which you allude are no doubt vexatious to Indians in practice, but in view of the finding of the Indian Enquiry Commission in 1914 that this grievance is one of sentiment rather than substance, and their recommendation that the existing law should not be altered, I fear that this is not a matter which we should be well advised to re-open at present. We must beware lest we seem to recede from the position which we explicitly adopted when we accepted the principle embodied in the reciprocity resolution of the Imperial Conference, 1918.

You have expressed your disapproval of the Union Government's scheme for voluntary repatriation on the ground that it is not in the interests of the Indians concerned and that it is repugnant to Indian feeling that the price of repatriation should be the forfeiture of domicile. The scheme was originally

Deputation of Members of the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, and the delegates of the Transvaal British Indian Association and of the Natal Indian Congress.

recommended by Sir Benjamin Robertson partly to secure better prospects for those who left the country and partly to secure better treatment for those who remained. It was adopted by the Union Government without previous consultation with the Government of India. But an explicit assurance was given by them at the time that repatriation would be purely voluntary and that it would be left to Indians in South Africa themselves to decide whether they desired to take advantage of the offer. The number of repatriates up-to-date has not been considerable and no evidence has reached us to justify your fear that the scheme is being utilised to drive Indians out of South Africa. At the same time, we are aware that economic conditions in India have altered since its introduction. The cost of living has risen and the demand for labour has diminished. It is possible that some repatriated Indians have found it difficult to earn a livelihood here and to re-adapt themselves to Indian conditions and that they might have been better off, if they had remained in South Africa. I shall cause enquiries to be made on this point and will consider whether any further action on our part is called for.

With reference to the position of Indians in the mandated territory of South-West Africa, you are doubtless aware that under the Covenant of the League of Nations it was agreed that South-West Africa could best be administered under the laws of the mandatory as an integral portion of its territories subject to safeguards in the interests of the indigenous population. In accordance with this provision, the Union Government has applied to the immigration of Indians into this

Deputation of Members of the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, and the delegates of the Transvaal British Indian Association and of the Natal Indian Congress.

territory the same immigration law as exists in the Union. This law, in effect, maintains a discrimination against Asiatics, that was in force under the previous German administration. The Government of India regret the action that has been taken, which has the effect of excluding from a mandated territory the nationals of a fellow-member of the League of Nations. Nevertheless, the essential justice of their cause encourages the Government of India in the hope that with the progress of time, these inequities will be remedied and that, before serious practical difficulties arise, this grievance will have ceased to exist. You have appealed for my sympathy, encouragement and support, and of that I can assure you in full measure. You have asked me to urge on the Union Government that they should satisfactorily settle the Indian question in South Africa once for all. We are doing everything that lies in our power to secure a satisfactory settlement and shall continue to do so. But we must not expect that deep-rooted prejudices and long-existing misunderstandings can be swept away in a day. In General Smuts we recognise a statesman whose broad vision and high ideals should render him sympathetic to the claims of Indians. He has a clear insight into the bearing of these claims on the strength and solidarity of the Empire as a whole. He has very great difficulties to contend with in South Africa and we must be careful to do or say nothing that may weaken his hands in supporting our cause. We have every reason to believe that he is as anxious as we are to see the Indians in South Africa fairly treated and contented and we hope that the difficulties in the way of an acceptable solution of the Indian question in South Africa will not be found insurmountable by a statesman

Address from the All-India Cantonments Association.

who has played so large a part in solving even more obstinate problems.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, I can assure you that the points raised in your address will be borne in mind and that we shall not fail in our attitude of constant watchfulness and in our policy of urging the justice of Indian claims. I thank you for having afforded me this opportunity of meeting you and explaining to you the policy which is being followed by the Government of India regarding South African affairs.

ADDRESS FROM THE ALL-INDIA CANTONMENTS ASSOCIATION.

His Excellency the Viceroy received a Deputation of the All-India Cantonments Association at Delhi on the 23rd March, and in reply to their Address, said :—

I am very glad that I have this opportunity of meeting a deputation of the All-India Cantonments Association, representing the civil population living in the cantonments of India ; and I have listened with great interest to your address in which you have made known to me the grievances which you feel with regard to the existing form of cantonment administration and your proposals for its reform. I am aware that the matter is one which has aroused keen interest among the residents of cantonments and that there is a very general demand for the introduction of a more liberal form of administration. With that demand I sympathise and my Government has been considering for some time past to what extent it can accept the various proposals which have been put forward.

Address from the All-India Cantonments Association.

I observe that you complain of the delay which has occurred in dealing with these proposals and that you press for the introduction of reforms in the system of administration by the beginning of next month. I must remind you, however, that the Committee, appointed by the Government of India in December 1920 to advise regarding the form of cantonment administration, broke up without submitting any report and consequently the proceedings had to be remitted to a sub-committee of the original committee, who prepared a draft report in the course of last summer, and this report had to be circulated for the concurrence of the original members of the Committee. The result was that the report did not reach my Government in its final form till the end of 1921. I can assure you that no time has been lost in examining the many important recommendations contained in that report. It may interest you if I outline briefly the steps which have already been taken :—

Local Governments have been addressed regarding the question of the separation of the judicial and executive functions of Cantonment Magistrates. You will realise that this is a measure which cannot be introduced without the concurrence of Local Governments, who will have to find, from their civil judicial staff, the Magistrates to try the cases which are now disposed of by Cantonment Magistrates in the exercise of their judicial functions. Local Governments are also being addressed with regard to the recommendation of the Committee on the subject of the exclusion from cantonment areas of large Sadar Bazaars, where this is geographically and administratively possible. Here again, the concurrence of Local Governments is obviously necessary, since if these areas are excluded from cantonments, they will have to be incorporated in neighbouring municipalities or formed into separate municipalities ;

Address from the All-India Cantonments Association.

and this is a matter which primarily concerns the Local Governments. Local Governments are also being addressed with regard to the proposals of the Cantonment Reforms Committee for the introduction of the elective principle into the constitution of Cantonment Committees. I observe from the enclosure to your address that you would like to have not less than 75 per cent. of the total strength of the committee made up of elected members. I am afraid that I cannot agree with you on this point. I must remind you that a cantonment is an area set apart for the use of the troops. The primary duty of the cantonment authorities is to safeguard the interests of the troops, to see that the sanitation of cantonments is such as to protect them from epidemic disease, to ensure that disorderly and undesirable persons, such as prostitutes and keepers of gambling houses and the like, are not allowed to corrupt the troops, and generally to exercise a careful control over everything that make for the comfort and welfare of the soldiers residing in cantonments. It is this main fact which differentiates the administration of cantonment areas from that of municipal areas ; and I cannot therefore agree that it would be right to entrust the administration of cantonments to a body containing a majority of elected non-official members. At the same time, I quite agree that the civil residents of cantonments are entitled to adequate representation on Cantonment Committees, and, as I have said, Local Governments are being consulted with a view to introducing this change at as early a date as possible.

A Bill further to amend the Cantonments House Accommodation Act has already been drafted in the Legislative Department, and it is my hope that, if possible, this Bill will be introduced before the end of the present session. A copy of this Bill

Address from the All-India Cantonments Association.

in the form in which it is intended to introduce it in the Legislative Assembly will be sent in advance to your Association for such criticism as you may wish to offer.

You refer to the proposal to amalgamate the Cantonment Code with the Cantonments Act. With much of what you say on the subject I find myself in agreement. My Government is taking steps to prepare a revised Cantonments Act, in which it is proposed to include such of the provisions of the Cantonment Code as in our opinion should properly form part of the substantive law. The Cantonment Code also contains, as you are aware, many rules which would more properly take the form of bye-laws made by the local cantonment authorities, and it is proposed to remove such rules from the Cantonment Code and to include in the revised Cantonments Act provisions enabling cantonment authorities to make proper bye-laws dealing with these matters. The Cantonment Code, shorn of these two classes of provisions, will then contain merely the statutory rules which may be made by the Governor-General in Council in accordance with the provisions of section 24 of the Act.

The next point to which you call my attention relates to the deletion of section 216 of the Cantonment Code. I need hardly assure you, Gentlemen, that I appreciate your view that no person should undergo the penalty of expulsion from his place of residence unless and until his offence has been judicially proved. There are, however, special reasons applicable to this provision of the Code which would require very careful consideration before I could agree to accept your recommendations. You have had proposals for the revision of the section before you and you have made your observations upon them. All I can say at this moment is that the whole

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question together with the criticisms passed upon the proposed revision of the section, is being taken into consideration by my Government and our decision will be announced as soon as practicable both upon this matter and others which are dependent upon the conclusions to which we may arrive in this respect.

You next refer to the constitution of standing committees of arbitration. Here, as in regard to certain other matters, I observe that your Association desires to go further than the Cantonment Reforms Committee recommended. I am afraid that I cannot agree with you that a committee of arbitration ought to contain a majority of non-official members, especially as in the revision of the Cantonment House Accommodation Act, to which I have referred, it is proposed to allow either party the right of appeal to a civil court against the decision of the committee of arbitration.

The next point you touch upon is non-interference with the existing rules which safeguard the rights of house-owners to live in their own houses in cantonments. On this point I can give you an assurance that the revision of the Cantonment House Accommodation Act which my Government has undertaken does not propose to interfere in any way with section 11 (c) of the Act, that is to say, that owners of houses in cantonments, who are at present protected by the provisions of that section, will not be deprived of that protection.

You recommend that the control of the civil administration of cantonments should be transferred from the military to the civil department of the Government of India. I am afraid that I cannot hold out any hope of this suggestion being accepted. As I have already explained, a cantonment exists primarily for the use of the military, and it would be out of the

Address from the All-India Cantonments Association.

question to divest the local military authorities of their responsibility for its administration.

My Government will enquire into the representation which you have made regarding the alleged compulsion of house-owners in cantonments to execute leases under the Cantonment Code for old sites, already held by them under original grants from Government. The question is one of considerable difficulty and of great importance, and I will not attempt to express an opinion on the matter to-day.

I am not prepared to accept the recommendation of certain members of the Cantonment Reforms Committee that section 28 of the Cantonments Act should be revised so as to withdraw the legal protection at present afforded to cantonment officials for anything in good faith done or purporting to be done in pursuance of powers conferred by or under the Act. This protection should be given to those who conscientiously try to do their duty.

Lastly, you ask that the existing rents of houses in cantonments should be enhanced by at least 50 per cent. Under the revised Cantonment House Accommodation Act, if it is passed into law, rents of houses taken up by Government on repairing leases will be fixed either by agreement between Government and the owner, or, failing agreement, by a committee of arbitration, or, if the decision of such a committee is not accepted by either party, then by appeal to a civil court. I think that this procedure should ensure that owners will receive a fair economic rent for their houses. I am sure that you will realise that it would be quite out of the question for Government to direct, by executive order, that all existing rents, whether

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adequate or inadequate, should be enhanced by an arbitrary figure such as you suggest.

It only remains for me to thank you, Gentlemen, for giving me this opportunity of making your acquaintance and listening to your views. Although my Government may not be able to see eye to eye with your Association on all the many subjects connected with cantonment administration in which you are particularly interested, you may rest assured that we shall endeavour, so far as possible, to meet your wishes, and I trust that the result of our efforts will be to introduce liberal reforms into cantonment administration without at the same time doing anything to the prejudice of the discipline, health and comfort of the troops for whose benefit cantonments primarily exist.

STATE BANQUET AT ALWAR.

26th March
1922.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading paid a week-end visit to Alwar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar in the course of his speech at the State Banquet held at the City Palace, Alwar, in honour of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Countess of Reading and His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, said:—

Your Excellencies, Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When the honoured representative of the Emperor of India accepts the hospitality of the Ruler of an Indian State, it is a source of rejoicing and gratification, but when that high personage combines in himself—as in the present case—the qualities of being one of Britain's first statesmen and one who has aspired to the highest position in his profession that can be achieved in the British Empire and finally when he has taught us even in the

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course of one year to regard him as the devoted well-wisher and friend of the country whose destinies are placed in his hands, it is indeed a source of considerable pleasure to extend to him our warm and cordial welcome. On an occasion of such importance there is much that one would like to say specially as those belonging to my Order have but few opportunities when they can speak their minds publicly. We sometimes receive much gratuitous and even officious advice from quarters that are not directly concerned in our affairs, but we try to look beyond these things and to march forward with the determination that a combined and united India in the near future may achieve again a great position that it once held in the ages past.

While therefore I repeat, there is a good deal to speak about I feel that I must guard myself against this temptation—for I have somehow interpreted Your Excellency to have said in one of your speeches that you admired an Indian system when hosts who entertained their friends to dinner made no speeches. I am not so sure however if Your Excellency is really not yourself responsible to some extent in encouraging people in giving expression to their sentiments—for when one is faced with a personality that is at once so warm and responsive when he is such a master of oratory and above all is able to say such nice things in such a delightful manner, I think it is not unnatural that we should wish to hear you speak. I will try not to be lured by the slylla of verbosity but I hope the present company will admit that on an occasion such as the present, I could scarcely allow myself to be swallowed by the charybdis of silence. Let us then hydroplane lightly over the middle course though this will not be for want of material on which more abler tongues than mine could keep you entertained.

Well then Ladies and Gentlemen, I will now make a few brief observations. See the temptations that come before me. First there is the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales which has but nine days ago come to a triumphant end ; there is the thunderbolt which has staggered many people concerning the resignation of Mr. Montagu on a question of principle or what some people term indiscretion. There is the problem of the present unrest in India—the legacy of the war. On the other hand there is the Chamber of Princes, the new scheme of the Indian State

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forces and the problem of no minor importance as to what ſhould be the future of the Indian States in the policy of the Empire. Perhaps you would not grudge me a few words on the adminiſtration of my State during the régime of the laſt 10 years of my government, and finally ſhould I ſay nothing on our united zeal that lies before us.

Each one of theſe problems would require almoſt a banquet to itſelf which of courſe would be an honour and a pleaſure to me if His Excellency could be perſuaded to accept my hoſpitality for this period—but as unfortunately the viſit has already had to be compreſſed into two days and only an hour or two hence we ſhall be taking farewells—no—I will ſay an *au-revoir*—I will try to make my remarks brief.

I commence with the viſit of the Prince of Wales. In his own words His Royal Highneſs came to India for the exchange of perſonal knowledge, but this deſire in itſelf has enabled His Royal Highneſs to achieve more—for during his all but too brief a tour in this country he has ſucceeded by his perſonality and ſimplicity of manner to ſpan many bridges over yawning chasms. He has aſſiſted to heal the gaſhes and ſores that were foſtering as the legacy of war. His was a truly Imperial miſſion which no one but a Royal perſonage could fulfil. When the Heir-Apparent of the British Empire viſits one of his dominions, it is only but natural that the viſit ſhould produce a warm glow in the hearts of the people with whom he comes in contact. But in the caſe of India than which I claim no country is more reſponſive both to kindneſs and chivalry, ſuch a viſit muſt ſucceed—as it has ſucceeded in this inſtance—in opening the keys of the hearts of the Princes and the peoples both of whom will unite ſtill more cloſely together to hold high the Royal Throne which as far as I can ſee is the one and only living factor that can keep the Empire cemented together. Only a few days have paſſed ſince His Royal Highneſs has turned his courſe towards Japan, but the Eaſt has already begun to call and will continue to do ſo until the Royal Prince honours the country again with his preſence. The words that he has left behind him in his parting meſſage to His Excellency give us hope and we feel ſure that the next time he comes he will be in a poſition to garner the rich fruits of the harveſt of good-will and unity which he has recently ſown.

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Many people have doubted the wisdom of a Royal visit taking place in India at a moment when the country, or a part of it at least, was in a state of agitation and unrest but I have been one of those who have unhesitatingly felt that the visit of the Royal heir-apparent to our country can never be inopportune and perhaps could not be more opportune than at the present moment—I say this, for His Royal Highness came to India when she was in need and is it not a fact that he who comes in need is the friend indeed. His Royal Highness may have left our shores in person but his love and affection live with us and though we do not accompany him in body, our hearts follow him in the wish that Providence may guide him and give him strength so that he may live to see his great Empire still more closely united by the bonds of good-will and unity, each portion giving out its best in order that the higher destiny of life may be fulfilled. How can I best sum up—if it is possible to do so—in a few words the effects of the recent visit. I say this that he came to India as a British Prince and he will return to England as the Royal Prince of India.

And now a few words about the departing Secretary of State. He has left the India Office but he has not left India. His love for the country and his devotion and service for its cause will live in abiding memories. He marched our country forward on the path of self-government and dared to stand at the helm during cyclones and storms. Can India then be so ungrateful as to forget him to-day? I can pay him no better compliment than by saying that few Indians could love this country more than he who gave it his devotion and his service. There are many I admit who disagree with his policy or even his methods, but I doubt if there are any who can say that according to his own principles and ideas he did not give the land he loved of his very best. I think we of the Indian States have reason to be particularly grateful to Mr. Montagu—for I somehow feel, rightly or wrongly, that Chapter 10 of the Reforms Report which deals with the States may never have seen the light of day or at any rate not in the form it finally emanated in the report. In his hour of sorrow we hope Mr. Montagu will find consolation in the fact that the volume of gratitude that turns to him may enable him to read the language of moving hearts. He tried according to his dictates to stand

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by India. Can any one do more? Let those who follow attempt nothing less.

To turn from these subjects to that of the present unrest in India is indeed a contrast. In a large country of the magnitude of our Motherland, it is not unnatural that there should be many differences of opinion and various standards of ideals. This is only human but our goal—whether we be Englishmen or Indians—is nevertheless the same. India is “love” written in four letters and to serve her is our greatest privilege; her elevation is our primary duty; the final attainment of her goal our only aim. Much of what has happened in the past few years unfortunately need perhaps never have occurred but we have now to look at facts as they exist and I am one of those who believe in construction and not destruction, in unity and not disintegration, in love and never in hatred. But the destinies of India for these five years are now in the hands of one of the ablest of England’s statesmen. Surely is it too much to hope that the results will be of mutual benefit to India as well as to England and that our goal will be considerably nearer when he lays down his sceptre and looks back to a grateful and affectionate India.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have no desire to encroach on your indulgence in talking to you about the results of 18 years of my administration. I can sum up these results in a very few words. The mistakes—and there have been many—have been mine, but if there has been any success or achievement, it is primarily due to the rich measure of love which is given to me by my people and to the service and assistance which has been rendered to me by my officials from the highest to the lowest. Some of them are present at this banquet to-day and their services I unstintedly and with flowing heart acknowledge to-day before the Viceroy of India. The ideal that I have kept before me in my government, I can easily illustrate in the form of a quotation:—

“The proof of abilities in a ruler in the governance of others does not consist in doing everything himself; to attempt it is a poor ambition, and to suppose that others will believe it can be done—an idle hope. In government the Ruler should not be the body but the soul, by his influence and under his directions, the hands should operate and the feet should walk. He should conceive what is to be done but he should

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appoint others to do it. He governs well who discerns the various characters and abilities of men and employs them to administer government under him in departments that are exactly suited to their talents. The perfection of government consists in the governing of those that govern. He that presides should try restraint and correct them. He should encourage, raise, change and displace them, he should keep them for ever in his eye and in his hand, but to make the minute particulars of their subordinate departments objects of personal application indicates suspicion and fills the mind with petty anxieties and leave it neither time, liberty or designs that are worthy of greater attention. No intricacies of business must embarrass or perplex, no subordinate objects must divide the attention. Those therefore who are most busy, who despatch the greatest number of affairs can least be said to govern. The presiding mind the genius that governs the State is he who doing nothing causes all to be done; who meditates and contrives, who looks forward to the future and back to the past, who sees that relative proportion arranges all things in order and provides for contingencies."

I have learnt to believe in my brief experience that administration can only be carried on by means of both hands—one exercising generosity and liberality and the other using firmness and strength. Administration cannot be carried on by the one; it certainly is impossible to carry it without the other.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the question of the Chamber of Princes and particularly that of the future of the Indian States is one of such magnitude that I do not feel competent to encompass it in the course of an after-dinner oration. But after all truths are really simple. If the ideal is to merge our individual destiny into tidal waves or to be swept into the vortex of hum drum idealism of one pattern and shape, then I have grave doubts of the future and much room for speculation and misgiving. But I do not believe that this can be our goal for variety in Unity is the law of nature. My goal is the united States of India where every Province and every State working its own destiny in accordance with its own environment, its own tradition, history and religion will combine together for higher and Imperial purposes—each subscribing its little quota of knowledge and experience, in a labour of love freely given for a higher

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and a nobler cause. I have no desire to entangle myself in arguments of despotism, autocracy, democracy, socialism, extremism and anarchy—for they are various avenues the one almost leading the other into an indefinite and viscious circle. Some of these catchwords even get tinged by another form of government called hypocrisy. I believe in the saying—"For forms of Government let fools contest, that which is best administered is best."

There are many of my Order in the Chamber of Princes who are interested in its future, but I believe that the test by which its success or failure can be judged is only one and that is how far it is able to achieve the object of helping India and the Empire.

After having detained you so long, I will not speak much more with regard to the Indian State forces except that I feel I should like to acknowledge on this occasion before His Excellency the Viceroy my personal gratitude for the encouragement and the sympathetic attitude the Imperial Government have adopted towards the scheme in which my part has only been that of Bacon's fly that sat upon the axle tree of the chariot wheel. The final test by which it can be examined is again the same. It is not a commercial concern and it must not be viewed from the point of view of profit and loss. I may say it is not even a question of give and take; "give" is the motto and the more the one gives the greater will be the response on the other side. Let the whole scheme be a sacrifice on both sides at the altar of Empire. I was once congratulated by a friend when my proposals were accepted by the Imperial Government that I had achieved a triumph, but I replied that I shall only deem it as such when it proves to be a triumph to the Empire.

In conclusion, I turn to one of my favourite themes and I hope you will be able to bear with me a little longer. I have somehow learnt to believe that the destiny of the West as represented by Britain has been brought into contact with the East as represented by India by no mere chance or any hap-hazard circumstance. The eternal tradition of India has been to look to the inner things of life, to be introspective and to fathom the secrets of God and life. Self-realisation in other words has been the goal of the East. The West on the other hand has looked to the

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outside world to conquer nature in order to enable it to help humanity. Each has a definite aim and a great deal to give to the other.

Slavish imitation is death but assimilation of the best when the roots are firmly imbedded in one's own soil is life. The materialism of the West cannot survive by itself any more than the spirituality of the East can be put into practice without the union of both. I believe that a higher destiny has willed that the two nations which have been brought together are not going to part asunder until a higher civilisation has been evolved where the spirituality of the East mingling with the sciences and the material progress of the West will bring the millenium for the world. It is only then that equality will come; it is then that we can mutually shake the hand of friendship and serve each other, combine together and make an Empire that may well be the envy of history and the world. This is the destiny in my estimation that India has to fulfil.

This according to my ideals is her highest swaraj, ours is the only hand that holds the rope that drags us on, awake and realise and the truth comes. I mention all this because this is the charge which lies in the hands of our distinguished guest of the evening. Let us hope that God may give him wisdom and strength in order that he may march the country forward towards its final goal. Then when the time comes for him to leave our shores, India will look to him as a Viceroy who was not only a plenipotentiary of England but also the champion of India. His consort, whom it is my delight to honour to-day is by his side to help him in this great undertaking. If Your Excellencies have enjoyed your all but too brief a visit to my State I hope we may look forward to giving you another welcome and a longer one next year.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is with these feelings and aspirations I now rise to ask you to drink to the health and success to the Earl and the Countess of Reading.

His Excellency the Viceroy replied to the toast as follows :—

Your Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, Your Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar, Ladies and Gentlemen,—His Highness has occupied as he properly should this evening as the host, a position well befitting the distinguished Ruler of this State

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when dispensing hospitality to the representative of the King-Emperor. But he has one other advantage in that he does not often have to speak in public. I have had the pleasure of listening to him at the Chamber of Princes and I regret that we do not hear him more often. After the eloquent oration which he has delivered to you this evening, I think you will agree that it would be better that he should select more opportunities for steering with such remarkable success, and enabling us to understand how to pilot the barque through difficult waters. If I do not to-night follow him in all the broad routes through which he has travelled, it is not because I have not the desire to accompany him there and to discuss with him the weighty problems of Empire. The danger that Her Excellency may be kept too long will be my reason for not walking down those delightful avenues with Your Highness. Of course, I have other opportunities and it becomes my duty at times to speak on different political subjects.

To-night I will select one far more pleasant, that of referring to our very remarkable (if I may be permitted to say so in his presence) host. To-night, Your Highness, I am not a politician, I am, it is true, the representative of the King-Emperor, and it is to that position that I owe the honour of the observations you have made and of the princely hospitality you have been good enough to lavish on me and those who accompany me to-night. I am here as the guest of His Highness of Alwar, in the State of Alwar, in the palace of Alwar, surrounded by the officials of Alwar, and yet I who have nothing to do with Alwar, except as the King-Emperor's Viceroy, nevertheless, in the language of His Highness, am the host this evening. There I think is depicted much of the

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charm, of the attractiveness and of the courtesy of India and nothing could be more appropriate than the observations that from one who occupies your position to-night made us feel more at home in your State, more as you would wish as "guests whom you have delighted to honour."

But, Sir, even above you there rules, in Alwar, the monarch of the jungle. There is he whom with your great skill, with your remarkable capacity for organisation with that generalship which we have admired so much you have learnt to conquer (for it is you who have learnt it, I have not), (laughter). The monarch of the jungle has demonstrated in a manner I little understood until the last two days, his many capacities, both of surprises, of concealment from all save the expert, of how to evade those who have not yet learnt the prowess of the hunter. His Highness has shown us that man with a brain working upon a set plan can outwit even the monarch of the jungle, and I may add, even the wife of the monarch of the jungle. I, a humble student, an admirer of His Highness, followed him in this pursuit, realising that he thus manifests the extraordinary qualities which he is known to possess. A man of high quality (one of the great men of England) once said that genius was the capacity to take infinite pains. I have observed during these last two days not only in this but in other respects and have thought what a remarkable quality is that of attending to every detail. His Highness whether engaged on pleasure, for his guests or to carry out his duty, spares no efforts to achieve his ends.

When I look at His Highness of Alwar, I realise that among his many advantages is that of youth and yet he has already sat for 18 years on the *gaddi* of Alwar. The administration of the State has been in his hands since Lord Curzon

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invested him with his powers in the year 1903. Since I have been in India, I have visited some States, though not so many as I should have desired ; and now it has come to me to visit Alwar ; I have listened to His Highness and in particular I value the quotation from the advice of Fenelon to Telemachus in which he was told that the ruler was the soul of administration of the government. His Highness with great felicity has said it. I would ask His Highness to go one step further and to tell me how to find the soul of government, that is as was observed to govern whilst doing nothing oneself. When I have arrived at the solution of that rather difficult problem, I shall then in response to the invitation so graciously and cordially extended to me by His Highness, send him notification that I propose to spend some weeks with him at Alwar when he shall initiate me in many other mysteries.

Your Highness, you referred ever so briefly to your own part in the administering of this State. You succeeded to a noble heritage, to a fine State with sturdy and spirited men, with able officials, whom no doubt you have selected and probably assisted to train. You have the advantage of great art treasures and great traditions. May I say that you will not find me wanting in admiration for the State of Alwar and its Ruler. But one observation I must make. His Highness has contributed to the enhancement of this heritage by the qualities of his mind and his spirit. May I be permitted to quote a Rajput saying to which my attention was attracted in reading but a short time ago, and say that His Highness of Alwar is known to have made "his Mother's milk glorious".

I will not refer to the many accomplishments of His Highness, to the distinctions he has achieved in the world of sport as

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well as in that of administration, to the place he has carved out for himself by solid qualities of intellectual equipment. To those who have followed his career it is but stating a truism to observe that after having conquered the paths which generally attract youth he turned his attention to public affairs and realised the value of true eloquence moulded upon idealism; not in the mere stringing of words together, however well expressed, however adorned by quotation, but by the deep solid thought and the spirit, the soul behind the words, for words alone can add nothing to our heritage. It is the spirit and the soul expressed in these words; that which is latent in us, but to which we can seldom give adequate expression. I must express thanks to His Highness for the part he has played in the initiation and the development of the idea of the Indian State Forces. He is entitled to a very large measure of credit for that which has now become a recognised fact. The Indian State Forces have taken the place of Imperial Service Forces, for we have realised in the war that we can place our trust in the Princes of India and that the forces of the Princes of India are as much at the Command of the King-Emperor as the forces of the Crown (Applause). Only quite recently a particular incident arose when His Highness of Alwar was called upon to send troops in order to help in a difficult situation in a small town just over his State border. The forces of Alwar were nearer than the British; he was called upon; the response was immediate, with the inevitable result that a situation which might have been serious was averted. The Government of India has already publicly expressed its gratitude to His Highness for its services. As Viceroy I am glad to have the opportunity of expressing it in person.

Deputation from the All-India Cow Conference Association.

In much that His Highness has said to-night, I find myself in agreement. To some things he has said I am not prepared to give expression in the same language, perhaps because a Viceroy is responsible to Parliament as well as to a Cabinet. His Highness of Alwar, so far as I understand, is responsible only to himself and his God.

I think of the India to which you have referred. To me India is India within the British Empire. I see India in the future counting as it should in the Councils of Empire. I am not one of those who despair about the future of India ; indeed I look forward to it with hope, with confidence in its future, we must not be hasty. True wisdom lies in calm and considered judgment and not in the hurried formation of opinion under stress of emotion or passion. I am confident that for the Princes and the peoples of India there is a future of great hope. I ask all present, those who are guests with Her Excellency and me, those who like His Highness the Jam Sahib have the good fortune of friendship with His Highness of Alwar and those who, like the high State officials here present are treated by His Highness of Alwar, to drink with me to the health of His Highness Sri Maharaj of Alwar and wish him long life, health and every prosperity.

DEPUTATION FROM THE ALL-INDIA COW CONFERENCE
ASSOCIATION.

27th March
1922.

In replying to an address from the above Association presented at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, on the 27th March, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

First of all, Gentlemen, let me thank you, on behalf of Lady Reading and myself, for the kind wishes with which your address concludes.

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I have listened to your address with great interest as I know well the importance to India of the matters with which you have dealt. It also affords me an opportunity of assuring you of the unremitting attention which my Government pays to the general agricultural condition of the country and in particular to those difficult problems connected with the preservation and improvement of its cattle wealth.

I may say, however, that I am far from taking the pessimistic view of the situation which is presented in your address.

You state that the number and the quality of cattle in India are inadequate for the purpose of agriculture and that they are yearly becoming more so. I think that this assertion somewhat overstates the position. The census returns are encouraging rather than otherwise. It is true that the very wide-spread and severe fodder scarcity of 1918-19 caused a reduction in the number of cattle, and the almost equally severe scarcity of 1920-21 has probably retarded recovery, but the last census showed an increase in ten years of over 6 per cent. in the number of cattle in areas for which full comparative figures are available, and I have every confidence that the recent favourable monsoon will restore such losses as have occurred. It is hardly relevant to compare—as was done in your memorial to Lord Chelmsford—the number of cattle per hundred of population in India with similar calculations like Australia, Argentine and Uruguay, sparsely populated and largely pastoral countries, one of whose main industries is cattle-breeding for the export trade in meat. The census returns also indicate not an increase, but a slight decrease in the area which a single pair of bullocks is required to plough. I think that we must leave it to the cultivator to determine the number of the cattle which he considers essential

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for the cultivation of his land, and to concentrate the attention of Government on improvement of quality, and I myself shall not be dismayed if an improvement in quality is accompanied even by a reduction in numbers and a saving in fodder and pasture which is at present largely consumed by useless animals.

I now come to the question of the milk supply and the condition of the milch cattle which you say is deplorable. The rise which has taken place in the price of milk is to be regretted, but there is no evidence that it is due to any deterioration in the quality or quantity of cattle. In point of fact its price has simply risen in sympathy with that of other commodities. Nor can I attribute the high infant mortality, which unhappily prevails in this country, to a reduction in the number or quality of milch cattle. High infant mortality is unfortunately not new in India. I am in complete sympathy with your desire to reduce it. It is one of the serious problems of India, but, though deeply to be deplored and while it is undoubtedly attributable in part to defective nutriment, its main causes are to be found in ignorance and the neglect of sanitation. An improvement in the milk-supply turns first and foremost on better breeds of cattle. You will be interested to learn that at the Agricultural Institute at Pusa cows have been bred which give an average outturn of 32 pounds of milk a day. The goal which we should keep in view is therefore a breed of cow which will give the maximum annual yield of milk and the elimination of all animals whose outturn is barely worth their keep.

The slaughter of cattle, and especially of cows, is a subject bristling with difficulties, owing to its close connection with the religious beliefs and feelings of a large part of the population. But, though I appreciate the motives which must have

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induced you to avoid discussion of this aspect of the matter, it is impossible for me to refrain from some mention of it. The bitterness of religious differences has in modern times largely given way to broad-minded toleration, and I only ask that this spirit of toleration may be observed whenever the question of cattle-slaughter is discussed. Respect one another's religious beliefs, but, while striving as far as possible not to offend against them, do not let any man try to force his own upon other men. And, for the economic point of view, let me ask you to credit with honesty of opinion those persons who tell you that India perhaps suffers, not from the fewness, but from the multitude, of her cattle. Also let me ask you to disbelieve the wild statements which, I believe, are often made, that there is a heavy drain on our cattle through export to other countries. The export of cattle is, in fact, extremely small; in a debate in the Assembly last March it was shown that only one animal in ten thousand is exported each year. It is at least a tenable proposition that the export trade tends to promote, rather than retard, the maintenance of good breeds by the stimulus that it gives to breeders and the preservation, in their pure and true types, of the best strains. Nevertheless, the Government of India, in the debate which I have just mentioned, undertook to prohibit the export of good breeds when satisfied that they were being unduly depleted.

In the memorial which your Association submitted to my predecessor you asked for the appointment of a Commission to enquire into a variety of matters connected with the cattle wealth of this country. The Council of State after a full discussion considered that such a Commission was unnecessary. You now ask that an enquiry should be made from Local Governments as to the advisability of action being taken in the

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matter. I will see that your address and my reply is brought to their notice. But the Agricultural and Veterinary Departments are, as you are aware, now transferred subjects in the charge of Ministers, who have full power to take any steps which they consider necessary in the interests of the cattle wealth of their respective Provinces and I shall leave the matter in their hands with the fullest confidence that it will be satisfactorily dealt with. I may mention, however, that the main points of interest in the last cattle-census have been brought to the notice of the Local Governments, and they have been asked to examine the figures, especially where these reveal defects in their respective provinces.

And now, Gentlemen, what is the upshot? My conclusion is that though there is plenty of room for improvement, there is little ground for pessimism. Above all, what is wanted is not an increase in the number of cattle but an improvement in their quality. And here I cannot refrain from saying that though public feeling is keenly interested in the subject, this interest is rarely manifested in action or enterprise. Last year, the Government of India appointed as Imperial Dairy Expert, an officer of great practical experience, one of whose functions is to advise on any dairy schemes submitted to him. The numerous requests for assistance that he received from public bodies and private concerns or persons were a most gratifying testimony of public interest in the subject of the milk supply, but I am bound to add that though, in response to these requests, he drew up in complete detail a number of schemes, in very few cases—if in any—has any attempt been made to put them into operation. Apart from Government assistance, enterprise, public and private is required and there is no better

Address of Welcome from representatives of the North-West Frontier Province and the Municipal Committee, Peshawar.

direction in which public spirit or commercial activity can manifest itself than in translating into action the interest that is so widely felt in this important subject. My Government will do all that it can to assist and I am sure that the Local Governments will do the same.

6th April
1922.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE AND THE MUNICIPAL
COMMITTEE, PESHAWAR.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading accompanied by their Personal Staff left Delhi on the evening of the 29th March for Peshawar and the North-West Frontier. In replying to an Address of Welcome from the representatives of the North-West Frontier Province and the Municipal Committee, Peshawar, His Excellency said :—

I thank you very warmly on behalf of Lady Reading and myself for the cordial welcome which you have extended to us on the occasion of our first visit to the North-West Frontier Province. It is a very great pleasure to us to have been able to come to Peshawar and to meet you all. It is with no common interest that we have seen the great barrier of the Frontier hills, and the gates outside which the forces of trouble for India have so often gathered, sometimes to be dispersed, and sometimes gaining strength to break through and carry rape and pillage over the face of the land. The menace of the past is not entirely banished, for the restlessness of trans-border tribes has not yet given place to stable conditions or to any permanent promise of lasting peace, and we should be blind to the facts if we tried to persuade ourselves to the contrary. Vigilance against the forces of disturbance must still be our watchword on the Frontier.

Address of Welcome from representatives of the North-West Frontier Province and the Municipal Committee, Peshawar.

I take this opportunity of thanking the Khans, the tribesmen, and the peoples of the North-West Frontier Province for their great assistance to us in the past in helping to guard the Frontier and to keep watch on those unruly elements, which, from time to time, have threatened not only this Province but India east of the Indus. I know that you have deserved and earned a great store of gratitude from the peoples of India for the part which you have played. I warmly welcome your assurances that the manhood of the Frontier is still ready to combine and bear its share of the burden of defence.

The difficult problem of the protection of the outlying villages of your long frontier line demands a defence system which must be elastic, not unduly costly, and above all suited to local conditions, with co-operation between different sections of the people themselves and between the people and the Government. Our difficulties are not incapable of solution, and I am inspired with confidence by the knowledge that the resolution of your leading men and the fortitude of your people are ranged on the side of the Government in our efforts to meet the problem. We may also take encouragement from the fact that the conclusion of what I trust may prove a lasting peace with Afghanistan has put a new complexion on some aspects of Frontier affairs.

The generous references which you made to my efforts to ensure the success of the Reforms Scheme, and a settlement of the vexed question relating to the Treaty of Sevres, have given me deep gratification. As regards the application of the former to your Province, it would not be right for me to say anything here. The whole matter is shortly to be considered by a Committee whose recommendations will command the most earnest

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Address of Welcome from representatives of the North-West Frontier Province and the Municipal Committee, Peshawar.

attention. You may lay your views fully and frankly before them. As regards the revision of the Treaty of Sevres, I have as you are aware, let no opportunity pass of placing before His Majesty's Government the demands made by responsible Moslem opinion in India, and of urging that the fullest consideration should be given to their sentiments in the settlement of these problems. I shall not fail to convey to Mr. Montagu, your regret at his resignation and your expressions of appreciation and gratitude for his efforts on behalf of the Moslems of India. My own views have already been publicly stated. I deeply value the tribute paid by you, the representatives of a pre-eminently Mahomedan Province, renowned as a stronghold of Islamic tradition, to my endeavours to help the Moslems of India in the trouble which the Great War brought in its train for them. I have always cherished it as my privilege and recognised it as my patent duty to impress the views of responsible Moslem opinion in India upon His Majesty's Government. I am now fully acquainted with the views of His Majesty's Government upon recent events, and I am sure you will be glad to know that no question has arisen between His Majesty's Government and me, as Viceroy, or my Government regarding the propriety of either my own or my Government's action in this or in any respect.

Let me say that I take the fullest responsibility for the telegram sent, not only because I am the head of the Government of India, but because the proposal originated with me. I have also had it at heart to allay by open statement of our action, wherever this was practicable, any misgivings which Moslems in India may have felt as to the steps taken to bring their views to notice in the proper quarter. The sole object my

Address of Welcome from representatives of the North-West Frontier Province and the Municipal Committee, Peshawar.

Government had in view in desiring to publish the telegram was to acquaint those interested in India with the action taken by the Government of India, but inasmuch as I fully appreciated that publication might affect the international situation, we requested the assent of His Majesty's Government.

Here again no question has arisen between us regarding this action. His Majesty's Government have declared that not only was my Government entitled to keep them in England acquainted with Moslem sentiments, and to impress them as forcibly as we could, but also that my Government acted with constitutional propriety in requesting His Majesty's Government's assent to the publication, and through the proper channel of communication, the Secretary of State. My Government's desire was to obtain consideration of Indian Moslem aspirations and their fulfilment in so far as they were considered just, equitable and reasonable. His Majesty's Government have made plain that Mr. Montagu's resignation has not affected their policy, either in regard to the Treaty of Peace, or to the Reforms, or otherwise. They have already stated that they will not fail to give due weight and full consideration to the representations made by the Moslems of India, in so far as these are compatible with justice, and their obligations to their Allies and other nations. I trust that the difficult question is now approaching a solution, and that peace in the Near East may soon be brought about. I am confident that when the final history of these negotiations comes to be written, its pages will leave no doubt that Great Britain has been guided by that desire of justice for, and sympathy with, the Moslem elements in the British Empire which has been a traditional feature of her policy.

*Farewell Dinner to the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri at Viceregal Lodge,
Simla.*

Your desires regarding a University command my sympathy. I will not lose sight of your wishes for the improvement of the facilities for higher education in this Province. These matters as you know, are hedged about with financial difficulties. At the present time I can only undertake to keep your wants in mind, against a time when it may be possible to take practical steps to fulfil them. I am glad to be able to-day to express my appreciation of the great effort which the peoples of this Province, true to their traditions of loyalty and courage, made to assist our cause in the Great War. Your contribution in manhood and in other directions is one which the Empire will not readily forget. I am glad to know that you appreciate the grants of canal land which were made to the *ex-service* men of your Province. You will recognise, I am sure, the difficulties which exist in rewarding all those with service to their credit in this manner. As regards the civilians of this Province, I will not fail to bring their desire to the notice of the Punjab Government for their consideration when new schemes for the colonisation of State lands come under examination. It only remains for me to re-affirm the pleasure which has been felt by Lady Reading and myself in meeting you and in visiting this Province, and to thank you once more for the very kind manner in which you have received us.

12th May
1922.

FAREWELL DINNER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SRINIVASA
SASTRI AT VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA.

In giving the toast of the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

I have invited you here to-night to do honour to the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, and I now ask you to join me in

*Farewell Dinner to the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastru at Viceregal Lodge,
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wishing him success and God-speed on the great mission which will shortly take him away temporarily from India.

Its importance is notably emphasised by a message I have been asked to deliver to Mr. Sastru from the Secretary of State. It is as follows :—

“ Before you depart for Australia, New Zealand and Canada at the invitation of the Governments of these Dominions as a representative of the Government of India, I wish to take the opportunity of expressing my sense of high importance of your mission for India and the Empire.

The eloquence and the cogency of your appeals were largely instrumental in the success achieved by representatives of India at the Premiers' Conference last year which placed on record a resolution recognizing rights of citizenship of Indians lawfully domiciled in other parts of the Empire. The ready acceptance of that resolution by the Prime Ministers of the great Dominions which you will visit is a signal proof of the new status of equal partnership won by India through her efforts and sacrifices during the war in Councils of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

It will now be your task to extend and quicken the spirit of harmony and good-will, to consult with leaders of political thought in the Dominions and their constituent States and Provinces as to the best means and methods of giving effect to the objects

Farewell Dinner to the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri at Viceregal Lodge, Simla.

of the resolution and to bring home to their peoples the evidence of India's worthiness of her new status and her consciousness of common ideals and higher interests which she shares with them as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

No one better qualified than you could have been chosen to undertake this difficult and important mission in which I am confident you will achieve the greatest possible measure of success. You carry with you my most cordial good wishes."

This must assuredly be a gratifying tribute to our distinguished guest which will, I trust, be an encouragement to him in the great work he has undertaken. It simplifies my task to-night and expresses the substance of our thoughts. Yet I cannot part so easily from so tempting a subject and, as Head of the Government of India, I must give utterance to some of my own reflections knowing full well that I shall be expressing the sentiments of my colleagues in the Government and of all those who, in India, have regard to her interests as a partner of the British Empire.

I shall not allude at length to my Right Honourable friend's past services to India and the Empire for I feel assured that you will agree with me in holding that these services are already recognised as an important page in history and that the chronicle of his activities will be read by future generations in India as marking an important step of progress in the relations between the British Government and India, and in the development of India's place in the greatest Empire in the World.

*Farewell Dinner to the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri at Viceregal Lodge,
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The part he, together with his colleague the Maharao of Cutch, played at the meetings of the Imperial Conference in London and of the League of Nations at Genova, is already well known. Not content—as he might have been—to have rested upon his labours, my Right Honourable friend then proceeded as the representative of India to the historic Washington Conference. Our honoured guest of to-night has made us proud of him, to whom we entrusted the heavy responsibility of placing India's interest before those high tribunals, and I do not overstate the case when I assert that his bearing in these weighty Conferences his high character and his skill in argument and eloquence in expression, have produced an effect on the representatives of our Empire and on those of other Nations which has markedly enhanced the good name of India and elevated the reputation of her people.

My Right Honourable friend has not escaped the fate of common experience of those who successfully discharge great national responsibilities. He has been attacked by some who have failed to appreciate his past services and the value of his coming mission. I feel assured that whilst he will devote proper attention to legitimate criticism or comment, he will pay no regard to those who since his return to India have striven merely to belittle his achievements. He will, I trust, rest convinced that he has throughout his efforts enjoyed the full confidence and earned the deep gratitude of those who have India's best interests close at heart. If proof were needed in India, the unanimous vote of the Legislative Assembly—that jealous guardian of public money—of the expenses for the mission on which he is now about to embark, places beyond doubt the value assigned by India to his services.

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Let me briefly recall the reasons which led to Mr. Sastri proceeding on his mission to the Dominions. During the discussions in the Imperial Conference last year, he represented the views of my Government and the aspirations of the people of India on the subject of the disabilities of Indians in the self-governing Dominions. We must not—indeed cannot—forget the invariable and invaluable support given to him by Mr. Montagu. With the concurrence of his colleagues and of my Government Mr. Sastri suggested that misapprehensions might be removed, and a closer understanding and sympathy established, if a deputation from India visited the Dominions and discussed the situation with their leading men. He expressed hopes that these Conferences might lead to legislation to effect desired changes. Who could doubt the wisdom of this idea? And I am glad to say that it was warmly welcomed by the Dominion Premiers who he is about to visit. It has now been decided that my Right Honourable friend will proceed alone and undertake this difficult task single-handed. He might well quail before the burden he proposes to lift, but he is undeterred by the difficulties of his task. My past experience of his tact and of the strength of his purpose inspire me to think that these delicate negotiations are in the safest of hands. We must not, however, be disappointed if they do not produce immediately the results we seek, for in these political negotiations patience is a great virtue. We must be patient, we have ground for trust, for I am confident that the seed Mr. Sastri sows will, in the fullness of time, bear the harvest which should completely satisfy our legitimate hopes.

I am glad to inform you that the Commonwealth of Australia—his first destination—has sent through me to our

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honoured representative, a most cordial message of welcome and an offer of hospitality as an honoured guest of the Dominion, during his visit. He goes forth on India's mission to other parts of the Empire. India, no longer outside the door when the Councils of Empire meet, but India present at the Conferences, taking her seat as a partner in the Empire. Time was when the aspirations of her people led to agitation for some greater recognition of her place in the Empire. I wonder whether, even amongst the most sanguine, it was ever thought that within a period of a few years she would have attained the status she now enjoys, and to which the Secretary of State's message bears eloquent testimony. India has made such rapid strides within the last five years that I sometimes doubt whether we have fully appreciated the distance she has travelled. As Viceroy, I naturally reflect upon her progress during this period; as Viceroy, I am proud of it and am grateful to England for her recognition of India's position achieved, through her efforts and through the sacrifices she made during the war. There are some who ask what is India's place in the Empire? Where does she stand? The answer will be found in the history of the Imperial Councils of the last few years. We see in rapid review, India taking her place with the Home Government and the Dominions at the Imperial Conference, at the Imperial War Cabinet, at the great Peace Conference, at the League of Nations, at the Washington Conference and with them affixing her signature to the great world treaties. I shall not pause to recall the names of those who have taken part in them. They are inscribed in the pages of history. And so when Mr. Sastri arrives in the Dominions he will again meet those distinguished men with whom he sat last year and he will be conscious of

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his responsibility for an India which is a partner with those Dominions in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Let us wish him success upon his mission. It is our mission, for we—the Government of India—are responsible for the views he will represent. These are already well known to the Indian public and he may rely upon the fullest possible support from my Government. As I see Mr. Sastri I recall the occasion when I first heard of him. It was in England before my departure for India, and Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State, was speaking to me of the distinguished personalities of India. He told me of Mr. Sastri, and from what he said I expected to find as I have found in Mr. Sastri an eloquent, forceful and devoted servant of India. My knowledge of all the actions of Mr. Sastri, on his various missions has deepened and strengthened these impressions, and I have no doubt that upon his return we shall acclaim him as one who has added to the great services already performed.

I give you the toast of the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, and wish him with all our hearts, God-speed and success.

In responding the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri said :—

Your Excellency, Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel a proud man to-day in many ways, but I also ask you to see in me a man in uttermost confusion. Not able to find words in which to express the feeling with which his heart is charged. I am as you may expect in profound gratitude to His Excellency for the way in which he has presented me to this great Assembly. I must in the first instance ask His Excellency most respectfully to convey to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India my high sense of appreciation and gratitude for the felicitiously phrased message which he has been pleased to send me.

Ladies and Gentlemen, believe me I did not expect in the least to be the recipient of the eulogy that it has pleased His Excellency the Viceroy

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to pronounce to-night. I hardly know in what terms suitably to acknowledge my debt. I can only begin by saying that if I have succeeded to any extent in the discharge of the high duties that the Government of India entrusted to me, it is largely due to the fact that everywhere the Government of India is held in high respect, and any agent of that Government is bound to receive respectful attention. In spite of what certain people may say, I found on either hand the fullest recognition of the importance of the Indian Government and the great prestige which it commands in the Councils, not only of the Empire, but in the Councils of the world. Whether it was so long years ago, or no, I do not pretend to be able to say, but at the present moment it is by no means an exaggeration to say that an Indian travelling abroad and charged by the Government of India with any message, is assured of a most earnest and respectful hearing.

I have a word to say to this great Assembly in recognition of the services which at Washington Mr. Corbett of the Indian Civil Service, Colonel Wigram of His Majesty's Forces and my Secretary Mr. Bajpai, rendered to the Government of India. My duties were greatly lightened by their assistance. Their devotion to the cause of India and their special knowledge of the subjects that came under review were beyond praise.

Your Excellency, people in India swayed by abnormal considerations that in the past few years have failed to take account of these circumstances. When Lord Chelmsford in nominating me as the Representative of his Government to the Imperial Conference, he ventured on a great departure from the traditions of our Government. He chose a non-official—although a member of his Legislature—for the first time to represent the Government in Imperial Councils. It was not understood at the time, but I take leave to say that that appointment would not have been possible but for the completeness with which the Government of India had during the last few years identified themselves with the best thoughts and aspirations of the people of India as regards their status abroad and in International Councils. I try to remember how a few years ago nothing was more noticeable than the violent feelings which against the people of India with regard to their status in the Dominions

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and elsewhere, and a somewhat tepid manner in which, on their behalf, representations used to be made, not only by the Government of India, but by the various Local Governments as well. That state of things has long passed away and now everyone—even though he be a non-co-operator—will feel bound in justice and in truth to acknowledge that if there had been a truly National Government with a National *personnel* the representations made on behalf of Indians either at the seat of Empire or in International Councils could not have been more forcibly or more entirely consonant to the wishes of the community. Then, too, some amount of surprise was felt, and I think adverse ignorant criticism was passed on the circumstance to which His Excellency referred, that in this delicate matter of the treatment of Indians in our Dominions, the Imperial Government had, as it were—I am putting it in the way of the critic—washed its hands clean of the business and retired leaving the Indian Government to fight its case as it might with the various Dominions concerned. It was rather different on the part of the Imperial Government. I take it—and I hope that my countrymen in India will come to realise it more and more—that the Imperial Government recognised that perhaps the intercession of a Government that was in a position, more or less, to lay down, to dictate, to express itself, as it were, from a superior pedestal, was not welcome by the fully grown Dominions, and it would be a graceful recognition of the full autonomy of the Dominions on the one hand, and likewise of full admission that India had risen to Dominion status on the other. It was I think this feeling rather than any other that dictated the policy which has now been responsible for my proceeding as a Representative direct of the Government of India to conduct negotiations on these matters with the Governments of the various Dominions. I think success is much more assured in this way of approach than it might have been if we had always spoken through and our case had only been transmitted direct by the Imperial Government themselves. I must acknowledge on my part the very great help and sympathy I received at the deliberations of the Imperial Conference from the Premiers of the various Dominions. With one notable exception—which I daresay is present in the minds of you all—the statement of the case for Indians received the most careful attention. The

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Premiers were glad to find out our point of view and when they found it out and likewise recognised that it was compatible with their inmost wishes, I received every encouragement from them and promises of support in case a deputation from India were willing to proceed to the various localities and to present India's case there. It was to me a matter of the greatest pleasure to find that India was so well received by the Premiers. But let me assure you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the success of our cause and the passing of that resolution at the Imperial Conference, would not have been possible were it not for the forceful, enthusiastic and eloquent advocacy of our cause by the Premier of Great Britain himself. Mr. Lloyd George found it necessary at the last moment to interpose with his authority and with his great eloquence on behalf of India. More than anything else, it was the few word that he said at the end in favour of India's cause that succeeded in bringing about the passing of that resolution. It is therefore primarily at the hands of the Imperial Cabinet that we had to look for the carrying out in full of the terms and purposes of that resolution. In other words, Ladies and Gentlemen, in no spirit of controversy, but in the spirit of India's best wishes, I put it to you that that resolution is going to be tested, not so much by the results of my mission into the Dominions, as by what takes place as regards Kenya and Uganda. I am full of apprehension at what might happen in case an adverse decision should be pronounced rather hastily by the Imperial Cabinet regarding the interests of Indians in these Crown Colonies. I hope nothing will happen in any way to prove that my apprehension is at all well founded, and I am in the fullest hope that at the last moment when the decision comes to be taken, the larger, nobler, and the higher view will be taken and India's views and ambitions fully satisfied. It will not do for me however to hide from you or from myself the possibility that my hands might be a little weakened in the Dominions when I am speaking on behalf of Indians there, by any adverse treatment of Indians in the Colonies of Kenya and Uganda where not a large local legislature, nor unsympathetic Parliaments, but the authorities of Whitehall are themselves concerned.

His Excellency was also pleased to refer to my critics. I have a great many of them and I rejoice that they should pay so much attention

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to so obscure an individual. I have tried in more than one place to present the true aspect of my forthcoming tour. I have tried to explain how this resolution arose and how in consequence of it I am being deputed by the Government of India. Much of the misrepresentation has been dispelled, I am glad to say, but as it happens in all these cases, there is a good deal of residue left which it is impossible to clear away. Part of this residue doubtless relates to my personality and that need not concern anybody excepting myself. But I am bound to point out that a good part of this residue is likewise due to that brooding dissatisfaction which the non-co-operation movement has left behind—I am taking it as of the past, I hope it is—as one of its most undesirable consequences. Too many of my friends, too many of my countrymen seem to think that the steps that we have taken in acquiring Dominion status, whether at London, or at Geneva, or at Washington and now in Genoa, are but as so many pebbles thrown at us by a designing bureaucracy by which our political ineptitude is constantly tripped and betrayed. They seem to think that some of us who belong to what is called the Labour Party and who are trying as far as possible to improve negotiations with the Government are victims of a great self-deception. That what is equal partnership in the Britannic Commonwealth of Nations—usually called by Mr. Lloyd George “the free Commonwealth of free nations”—that our equal partnership in that object is but a delusion and a snare.

Ladies and Gentlemen, you will permit me to take up a few minutes of your time in describing what I consider to be the truth of the matter which is entirely forgotten by the somewhat hasty and unthinking critic in India. This Britannic Commonwealth of Nations is not always best understood by the Englishmen themselves. Perhaps it is necessary not to be an Englishman so as to feel the great influence of this Commonwealth and to feel also its benevolence in full. Somehow or other I have an unquenchable faith in the future of this Commonwealth. I have been criticised every now and then for referring, in an excess of enthusiasm, to the ideals of the British Empire. But still I remained imperturbable. I belong to the Servants of India Society of which the basic Article is the

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belief that the connection of India with England is somehow on high intended to fulfil some high purposes for the benefit of the world. Belonging to that Society I have never wavered in the faith that I shall presently endeavour to put before you. This British Commonwealth of Nations has done many things in the past. It has great exploits to its credit. It has great achievements in the moral sphere to its credit. Doubtless—like all human institutions—its history is disfigured by many things which Britishers themselves would be the first to wish could be forgotten. Doubtless there are many things which may be pronounced to be serious imperfections and flaws, either in the way in which this Commonwealth has been built up or in the way in which it is now held together, but we are studying a great political institution, we are studying a mass of events connected inextricably with human affairs all over the world and it were a pity to apply to it our petty measures or our small things. I take it that this great political organization stands unique amongst the political institutions of the world, for one thing above all others I wish it were generally recognised, it stands for one thing more than any other and that is the reconciliation of the East and the West. The bringing together in happy harmony the people of varied races and varied complexions. The blending together under one law, under one Sovereign, under one Imperial Parliament, people of adverse nationalities, various cultures, hitherto felt in many another political organizations to be irreconcilable and never under one flag. There are, as some of you may have seen, people who sit down and think deeply in these busy times, there are great writers, great thinkers, seers of the future who would, in their moments of hesitation as to the future of our civilization, to the future of our humanity, tell us in solemn tones that perhaps the world to-day is moving forward at no long period to a great clash between the East and the West, between the White and the Coloured population, and that that clash will be marked by the shedding of more blood, by the destruction of more human property and more human happiness than any clash in the story of our country. Whether that be so or not, it is too much for one connected with the practical affairs of the moment to say, but it does not look impossible. There are many things which seem to point to the hush of smaller and pavier difficulties, and it is not unlikely that

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we should hear in no long time the rumble of a mighty earthquake whereby this planet can be rudely shaken. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, if only the British Commonwealth were wisely guided in its time, if only British statesmanship, which has always proved equal to the greatest emergencies, proved equal to the greatest of all emergencies." If only the British Commonwealth kept its even temper, in spite of ups and downs, in its upward progress, there is no serious risk of this great earthquake submerging this planet. I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, where, in any Empire, in any political union there are people of so many adverse ways and complexions and cultures as within the British Empire? I ask you to reflect solely to see the march of events from a safe distance of, say, two or three hundred years. I ask you in all seriousness whether it is not in this Britannic Commonwealth that we see the beginning of a great and happy solution of these discords that those who look into the future frighten us with. And where in this world-wide Empire is the conflict of race with race, of colour with colour, of civilization with civilization, more marked, more evidenced, more fraught with possibilities of good and evil, more perplexing to the intelligent student of human affairs than in this India, where we all dwell? Here there are great administrators, statesmen who from day to day are occupied with great affairs. The Viceroy, Governors, the Commander-in-Chief—all dealing with the administration of a great Continent. Members of Council and great potentates leading the destinies of millions. Secretaries to the Government of India who, if the secret be told, are only a little more powerful than their chiefs. Deputy Secretaries and Under Secretaries who, I understand, with the turning of a phrase may bring into view or turn aside mighty issues. All who in high spheres or in low are making or marring the destinies of millions. You all have passed through an exceptionally trying time. You have my profoundest sympathy for the patience and forbearance with which on both sides you seem to have tided over the difficulties. It is not my business to say one word that will aggravate the difficulties of the situation, for we are passing through the period of transition. Do let me, in the name of this great Britannic Commonwealth of Nations, ask you to remember that if the Britannic Commonwealth has a high mission and a noble destiny, that mission and that destiny cannot be fulfilled except through

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you. That on each one of you devolves a part of that high mission and that high destiny. Perhaps some of you immersed as you are in the daily routine of your work, do not realize how great your responsibility is. It is not to the India of to-day. It is not to the Britain of to-day, but it is for the sake of our great civilization built up through century upon century of heroic effort. I ask you to remember in your daily work that it is not the demands of the hour, it is not the interests that may be immediately vested in you—but if I may venture for one moment to be so impertinent as to state to you—high administrators—that it is not to the reconciliation of vested interests only that your wish and your destiny are to be fulfilled. We never have seen in the country such a wreck of hope and faith in the government of the day. I say this in all solemnity. We have never seen such a total wreck of faith by the people as to-day. It rests with you to rebuild this hope by constantly remembering that you are but the front wheels of the future, that you are, each one individually, the chosen vehicle of the great spirit of benevolence that has always ennobled the British Government in its mission in the world. I venture to think that it be your purpose—as I have no doubt it is the purpose of all who derive authority from you—to put your faces constantly forward never to turn back in this great work to which you have put your hands, but to see that your duty to India, and your duty to the India of the British Commonwealth, is nothing less than the great duty you owe to civilization and to humanity.

Your Excellency, I have been compelled to take up a little of your time to speak on behalf of this idea of Empire about which I have been supposed to be a little over-enthusiastic, but as I have known that my country cannot prosper except by rising to the fullest political height within the British Commonwealth, I am one of those who identify British Commonwealth and India in one close and visible union. If I speak of the one, I seem necessarily to be speaking of the other. I wish I had the fire of eloquence to transmit to you something of the great enthusiasm that I feel for the future of the world and of civilization, of which it seems to me this British Commonwealth is the instrument designed by Providence to be the greatest and noblest of instruments.

30th May
1922.

ADDRESS FROM THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE
OF INDIA AND CEYLON.

His Excellency the Viceroy received a deputation of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon at Viceregal Lodge on the 30th May, and in replying to the address said :—

Gentlemen,—I feel it shows great public spirit on the part of the Associated Chambers to have deputed you to take the long journey to Simla for the purpose of laying before me in a matter of such vital importance to the country and to the Government the views of bodies who justly claim to represent the considered commercial and industrial opinion of India. This is the first time, I understand, that Indian and European Chambers have acted together in approaching the Viceroy on a question of general importance of this nature. That you have taken this step not to promote in particular any special activity in which your Chambers are interested, but in connection with an issue which you rightly believe to affect in a serious degree the interests of the tax-payers, the people of India generally and the well-being of the country at large, augurs well of the existence in your communities of a sense of responsibility which should animate all enlightened sections of the people in public affairs in India. I have a firm belief in the necessity of maintaining a close touch between Government and the great commercial and industrial communities, and I would value an expression of your views at any time ; but for the special reasons to which I have referred, I particularly welcome your deputation to-day and have heard your observations with no common interest.

In the first place, let me assure you that I and my Government are fully alive to our serious financial situation and to the importance of establishing equilibrium between actual current expenditure and a reasonable estimate of revenue. We realise

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the effect of continued deficits and borrowing operations upon trade interests. We clearly recognise that one of the first avenues to be explored, and thoroughly explored is the question of our expenditure. As regards the latter, we are prepared to place it in the crucible and put it fully to the test. With reference to each department and each of its several activities in detail, we intend to prove it by the reaction test of whether the department as a whole and each of its activities severally are absolutely necessary and indispensable; and if the answer to that test is in the affirmative, we propose to employ further searching processes to ascertain whether its activities permit of reduction in expenditure or not, and even if the latter be the answer, we will not be content to rest there, but will examine whether an efficient result could not be attained by a complete change of method of treatment if that points the way to saving. I hope you will be convinced by what I have said that we intend no half measures. We protect nothing; we conceal nothing; we reserve nothing; we do not apply any temporising measures to our bodily disease. We desire to lay our ailments and the history and facts of our constitution frankly and without reserve before the physician, and we are prepared, as far as it is compatible with efficient government and the primary necessities of safety and good administration, to submit to operation, to cautery, to the letting of blood or to rigorous diet.

As regards the Committee which is to report to the Government of India, we have secured as Chairman Lord Inchcape. I cannot too highly praise the high sense of public duty which has actuated one of the busiest of men after his recent arduous labours to undertake this work. I know that I express the opinion of those before me when I say that we could hardly

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have secured one more fitted in every way to direct these investigations in India. His knowledge of India, where he first made his reputation in business, and his unique experience of problems similar to ours gained during his membership of the Goddes Committee, single him out as one who is peculiarly gifted for the task in which he has consented to help us. As regards the members of his Committee, I hope and believe that when the full constitution is announced—as it will be very shortly—it will command the confidence of all who are interested in the financial condition of India, and will satisfy them of our earnestness of purpose. We are attempting to secure advisers whose qualifications are beyond dispute, who will examine our problems from a wholly novel and unbiassed angle of view, but with the lens of acumen and experience. The Secretary is to be Mr. Howard—Lord Inchcape's own selection. Mr. Howard was at one time associated with our finances in India. He is personally known, I think, to some of your deputation and, I believe, the Committee will be able to rely implicitly on his experience of the financial aspects of all questions connected with the Government of India. Liaison officers will be attached to the Committee to place all our archives at their disposal and to explain the precise function, or alleged function, of the various wheels in our complex administrative machinery.

The field of the labours of the Committee is the whole of the administrative machine of the Central Government and the processes which it controls or drives. This includes military expenditure under the terms of reference already made public. You will have perceived that they are identical, except for minor verbal modifications, with those of the Geddes Committee. They enjoin scrutiny of all departments and branches and of every class of expenditure. But of course, just as with the

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Geddes Committee, the final determination upon matters of policy will rest with the Government.

It would be a waste of time and money to burden those who are to do the expert assay with the labours of the crushing or with the collection of the spoil for examination. Much of the spade work will be accomplished before the Committee assembles. The preparatory work has already been entrusted to an experienced officer of the Finance Department who is on special duty and is even now engaged in searching enquiries in each Department. Some of this preliminary work has indeed already been completed. A Committee, which I recently appointed under the presidentship of Mr. Innes and of which General Hudson and Mr. Sim were members, has finished an investigation into the question of the staffs employed at Army Headquarters. I cannot commend too highly the thoroughness with which this examination was pursued and the expedition with which their report was submitted.

Adequate steps have been taken to ensure that the Committee when it assembles, will be supplied with full information on every point which it may desire to investigate. As regards expedition, Lord Inchcape's engagements prevent him from reaching India before October ; but we hope before then to make a substantial advance into the field of examination in which they have to labour. We have taken every precaution to ensure that the investigation starts under the best possible auspices and is in position to dispose of its work with expedition.

One result which we hope for from this preliminary work is that we may find ourselves able, as a result of the department's scrutiny of their own expenditure and of the critical examination

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carried out by our Special Officer to prune off and lop redundant and unnecessary branches in advance of the sittings of the Committee. Instructions to this effect have already been issued to all departments ; and it will be one of the chief tasks of the Officer on Special Duty to watch the progress of this kind of retrenchment and to direct the enquiries of the departments into profitable channels. He has also been instructed to devote special attention to cases where the activities of a department deal with provincial subjects.

I note your observations regarding New Delhi. I can assure you that my Government are fully cognisant of the criticism and discussion in the Press and otherwise relating to this monumental work, and the subject is engaging our most careful attention with a view, if possible, to restricting the expenditure.

I hope that what I have told you will give you confidence in the earnestness of purpose of my Government. In spite of what is at times said to the contrary, I have every reason to believe from the reports that come to me from all parts of India that the Government, which is representative of India in a greater degree than previous Central Governments, is inspiring trust and confidence. Whilst desiring to join with you to-day in avoiding controversial issues, I must remind you that my Government have been faced with difficulties of an exceptional nature. The aftermath of war, trade depression, reduced exchange, high prices, economic distress, troubles in Malabar and on the frontier and political agitation, combined to create a most complex situation. In addition, the great changes in problems connected with the working of the reformed constitution had to be compassed in the midst of considerable political unrest. In our judgment this situation in its various

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stages of progression required careful and patient handling. May I remind you that patience is a political virtue which often demands greater courage than more picturesque forms of action. But it should never be practised indefinitely ; it may pass the limit of a virtue and become a fault, and we have not hesitated to take resolute action when we thought conditions required it. I hope I may not claim that the policy of my Government has been justified by events and that India will enjoy a period of greater peace and tranquillity. For a time, at any rate,—and I trust for a long time—we have comparative peace. We have an atmosphere in which our political life and economic progress can grow and develop on right lines. In this development I am in full accord with you that the restoration of financial equilibrium in India, based upon retrenchment, where possible, of expenditure, is of most urgent importance, and you may rely upon my utmost efforts to secure this result.

You have supplemented your address by very notable speeches delivered by three of your body who are well known in India ; and if I do not travel into all the roads along which they have themselves journeyed, it is only because I fear to express any opinion likely in any way to affect the labours of the Retrenchment Committee. Let me assure you that I am as fully persuaded as each one of you of the vital necessity of cutting down expenditure, wherever we can do it, with due regard to efficiency of government. Retrenchment is poor economy if it results in inefficiency, because that inevitably leads to waste and extravagance.

You struck the right note throughout when you impressed upon me the necessity for retrenchment, whilst bearing in mind also, the equal necessity for efficiency of administration. You

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have mentioned a variety of subjects. I am tempted to discuss them with you, but I must refrain. I think, if I were to do so, I should be embarking upon a very long speech and upon subjects in which speaking generally there is not such a great difference of opinion between us. That above all things we must do our utmost to avoid deficits in the future, I assure you, does not require elaboration by you, although I am glad to have the support of your observations. It came to me as a shock when I discovered that for four years there had been a deficit of 90 crores in the four annual budgets,—a subject to which Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas has referred. This year we again have a deficit, but of that I shall say nothing more to-day. It has been much discussed and we have to face the situation as it now is. There are vast problems to be considered ; but it is above all necessary that we should devote our attention to them in the interest of India, that we may bring about the equilibrium we all desire. May I, however, say that I do not think we should be too despondent about the situation. I was more familiar with the financial conditions of England before I came here ; and although I preface my observations by paying due regard to the far greater wealth of that country, yet at the same time, I cannot but think that in comparison with the loans we in England have had to contract for the purpose of the Great War, India fortunately for her is in a better position. India has this great advantage over Great Britain and other countries in that the greater part of her loan account consists, as Mr. Rhodes has pointed out, of loans which bring revenue. They are productive not unproductive, that is a factor not to be forgotten when anxiety is felt regarding the loans for which India is responsible. I do not make this observation with the idea of belittling in the slightest degree the

Combined meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and Indian Red Cross Society.

serious financial condition of India, but for the purpose of giving some comfort; whilst realising the immense importance of restoring equilibrium and of reducing expenditure wherever possible, nevertheless it is desirable not to fall into the error—as persons might easily do who may not have such a full appreciation of the situation as you have—of exaggerating the seriousness of the conditions of India at the present moment.

I am glad to have had the opportunity of receiving you and of listening to you and I am encouraged by your presence as representative of both the Great Britain and Indian commercial communities of India, joining together here for the benefit of India, to make representations to me as Viceroy, designed for the advantage of India. In this joining together of the commercial communities for this purpose, which I understand takes place for the first time, I would express the hope that I see the first step towards that greater co-operation between British and Indians in all fields of activity in India for the benefit of India and of the Indian people.

COMBINED MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY.

24th June
1922.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the combined meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and Indian Red Cross Society held at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on the 24th June 1922 :—

Your Excellencies, Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—
One striking note of our meeting to-day is the unanimity which
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has prevailed ; and I have been asking myself whether it is real or whether it is simply because we do not seem to afford an opportunity to those who may have different views to express before us. But I have come to the conclusion that in the state of our business there is no room for controversy. We are all agreed upon various matters that have come before you, and that this is in a sense an uneventful meeting. Not even the warlike appearance of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has managed to stir up any hostility which is only another expression of what we have learnt, that all these men of war make excellent men of peace. Further, there is some satisfaction in knowing that although the reports of these two bodies are uneventful and there are no great splashes of colour about them ; yet they do show forward movement, and I think we must congratulate ourselves upon these conditions. At the meeting of these two Societies joined together for this purpose and animated by the same spirit of benefiting humanity, let us hope that we see in the unanimity that prevails, some indication of what we hope will spread itself throughout the world in dealing with these and kindred subjects.

Last year at the Annual Meeting of the St. John's Ambulance Association I expressed two convictions regarding the work of the Association. In the first place, I laid emphasis on my confidence that the great tradition established by the Association during the war would find expression in times of peace in an increase of enterprise to help suffering humanity among the non-official elements of the population. In the second place, I ventured to predict that at our next Annual Meeting we should be able to congratulate ourselves on an increasingly satisfactory record of progress.

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The summary of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, which deals with the work accomplished by the Association during the past nine months, has more than justified my convictions. There has been a most gratifying expansion of the activities of the Association and there are abundant signs that a considerable class among the public in India recognize the opportunity which the Association provides for working for the benefit of the noblest cause known to humanity. The centres now number 368 : Membership has increased to 8,943 while over 12,000 persons have attended the 612 courses of instruction which have been held. By means of the latter, it is the aim of the Association to raise up by degrees a body of men and women skilled in rendering first aid and trained in Home nursing. On the inestimable benefit of the spread of this class of knowledge to the people of India there can be no two opinions.

Last year I had a special word to say about the work of the St. John's Ambulance Brigade. I am as deeply impressed as ever with the utility and stimulating character of this aspect of the Association's work. I understand that a proposal is now under consideration to form cadet divisions for the instruction of the young in the rudiments of what our Association holds to be of special value. It is hoped to imbue the youth of the country, at a time when their minds are in the most plastic and receptive stage, with the first principles of hygiene and with the benefits of physical exercise and fundamental health régime. I trust this proposal may prove feasible and meet with support. A diffusion of knowledge on these subjects among the growing generation may be hoped to produce a rich harvest in years to come in increased health and well-being among the people as a whole. It is popular ignorance on these

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subjects which helps to fill hospitals and to add unnecessarily to the woeful tale of human suffering.

I now turn to the work of the Red Cross Society of which General Sir William Edwards has given us an account. The function in peace time of the Red Cross Society may be summed up in the words public health reform. Without public health reform the betterment of social conditions become an empty phrase. Social reform and service are plants of recent growth in India ; and within the last three decades there has been a marked change in public opinion in England also in favour of progress in these matters. This change is largely the result of the work of voluntary organizations in the education of the general public in the advantages of hygiene.

This is a field in which the Indian Red Cross Society is eminently fitted to labour. The actual work must fall on the Branch Committees, of which there are now 15 in India. Each Branch Committee must create an organization adapted to its own peculiar circumstances and local conditions and needs. For the prosecution of this work, if success is to be attained, a wide membership is essential. The enlightenment of public opinion is best secured by actual demonstration. Apart from popular health instructions, Provincial administrations and local bodies may be assisted in various ways, such as by the institution of Childwelfare Centres, the provision of Public Health Nurses including midwives and by assistance in the form of service or funds to hospitals, anti-tuberculosis dispensaries and leper asylums and so on.

Demonstration of health measures is the most fertile method of educating public opinion ; for, where people realize the

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benefit, they will demand extension of facilities for securing healthful conditions and assist actively in measures taken to promote them ; where such a movement has taken root, local administrations will feel confident that the money spent on the installation of public health measures will not be wasted by the failure of the public to make full use of them ; and financial stringency will receive assistance in service and finance from those who value and understand these activities.

The League of Red Cross Societies at Geneva is anxious to render practical assistance to the member societies in their organization and development. With this object in view it is proposed to hold periodical regional conferences of member societies in localities easily accessible to them. I am glad to announce that an Oriental Red Cross Conference has been convened at Bangkok for the end of November this year, at which questions concerning the working of Red Cross Societies in the Orient and methods of improving their organization will be discussed. There is also a proposal that after the close of the Conference a delegation of the League should tour in India. This proposal has not yet been definitely accepted ; but if it takes shape, I am sure that Branch Committees in India will extend a cordial welcome to the members of the delegation, and will derive no small benefit from their advice and experience and be enabled as a result to formulate more complete programmes for the extension of their activities.

It often strikes one in thinking of the work of these societies that peace time is perhaps not the most fortunate for the development of their activities. In times of war there is common peril, common suffering, common sacrifice, with the result that a wave of sympathy radiates from one human being to another when

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engaged in the same pursuit and affected by the same fate. Each can help the other and all join in the work for the benefit of humanity. But in times of peace the work is dull, it lacks the picturesque, it has not the stimulus of warm-blooded patriotism. Let us not think that the work on behalf of these societies performed by those who devote themselves to it, is less noble in time of peace than in time of war. Indeed, the work for the benefit of mankind done by these societies, is just as great in time of peace as in time of war, for heroism is sometimes greater when it involves continued effort in dull drab and dreary conditions.

And it is for this reason that I would make this appeal to you, the members of these societies, and even more to those who are not members, to come in and join in the work of both these Associations to remember perhaps—a thought that just crosses my mind—that it is better that nations should be engaged in making alliances, treaties, conventions, and understandings for the purpose of regulating healthful conditions for their various people, than in seeking to make that kind of combination which may ensure great strength and power of enforcing will upon others. I am reminded to make this observation to you when I think of the work which the League of Nations has already in hand, has only really started; there is much yet to accomplish, but nevertheless it does represent the union of nations, of those who are members sitting together taking part—as India has taken part among them—for the purpose of arriving at stable conditions for Governments. So far of course they have travelled over very little of the ground towards securing that which will become possible to Governments only when other Governments join them. I am not going

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to discuss with you a very wide subject of their task save to say that I am sure you will agree that the benefit to mankind is greater when the nations combine for the purpose. Let us hope that the Conferences that are taking place and will be arranged in future, will continue to work in this way for the benefit of the peoples of the nations and that in the end these societies, which exist for the purpose of doing the great work, to which I have referred, will become more prosperous and receive greater support even than in the past. As the spread among the nations of the development of helpful conditions for the people continues and the movement for the prevention of destructive conditions, so those, who are not yet inside but outside these societies, will realize all the benefits, that can be obtained by joining these Associations. India, where the spiritual seems to touch the man so quickly, should make greater response and will, I believe, be quickly brought to understand the needs of suffering people and be ready to give sympathy and quick to attempt to remedy. I hope you, and all of us engaged in this work, will be able next year to bear in mind all that is necessary for the well-being of these societies and meet again with the same unanimity without any dissentient voice to hear once again a report which will be a token once more of the wider activities of these societies which are only a short and compendious method of giving expression to benefits and advantages for mankind.

19th August
1922.

DEPUTATION FROM LEADING INDIAN GENTLEMEN IN CONNECTION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICES.

A deputation of Indian Gentlemen waited on His Excellency the Viceroy at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on the 19th August and read the following address :—

May it please Your Excellency,—Your Excellency is, no doubt, aware of the deep and widespread stir caused in all Indian political circles by the speech on Indian affairs delivered by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on the 2nd of this month. Speaking of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, during the course of that speech, the Prime Minister declared :—“ Those changes were in the nature of an experiment. They must be treated as an experiment—a great and important experiment—but still an experiment.” He further declared that it remained to be seen that a system of this kind adapted to Western needs was suitable for India. Speaking of the British Civil Services in this country, the Prime Minister stated that whatever the success of Indians, whether as Parliamentarians or as administrators, he could “ see no period when they can dispense with the guidance and assistance of a small nucleus of British Civil Servants and British officials in India”. According to him, the British Civil Servants “ are the steel-frame of the whole structure ” and he did not care “ what you build on or to it ; if you take that steel-frame out, the fabric will collapse ”. Coming as these pronouncements do from the Head of His Majesty's Government, and inconsistent as they obviously are with the declared policy of the British Parliament as embodied in the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919, they have very naturally created feelings of deep disappointment and of grave concern throughout the length and breadth of India.

Your Excellency, at a time when the British Empire was engaged in a life-and-death struggle, when India's sons had demonstrated their devotion to the British Throne by shedding their life-blood on the battle-fields of three Continents, the then Secretary of State, speaking on behalf of His Majesty's Government, made a pronouncement of policy in the House of Commons on 20th August 1917, which has been rightly characterized as the Magna Charta of India. That announcement, we venture

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to remind Your Excellency, was to the following effect:—"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." This epoch-making announcement was correctly characterized by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Report as "the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history". According to them it "pledged the British Government in the clearest terms to the adoption of a new policy towards three hundred millions of people". In order to give effect to this solemn pledge, the Right Hon'ble E. S. Montagu came out to India and as a result of the joint enquiry held by him and His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, a scheme of reforms was formulated which, having been carried through the two Houses of Parliament, finally assumed the form of the Government of India Act of 1919. The preamble to that Act reproduced *verbatim* the declaration of policy made in 1917, which thus received the final sanction of the British Parliament. At the inaugural meeting of the Reformed Councils brought into existence under the provisions of that Act in February 1921, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught conveyed to the Indian Legislature, and through them to the people of India, a gracious message from His Majesty the King-Emperor, of which the following extract is of particular significance in connection with the object with which we have ventured to trespass on Your Excellency's valuable time to-day:—"For years", said His Imperial Majesty, "it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To-day, you have the beginning of Swaraj within my Empire and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy". It is unnecessary for us in this Address to multiply quotations from speeches delivered by responsible Ministers of the Crown in England as well as by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford in India in this connection. The declaration of 1917, the preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919, and His Majesty the King-Emperor's Gracious Message, are conclusive of the fact that the scheme of Reforms, far from being an experiment to be

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pursued or abandoned at will, constitutes a definite stage towards the goal of British policy as laid down by Parliament and confirmed by our gracious King-Emperor. These reforms have already been carried into effect; we are nearing the fourth Session of the Reformed Councils, and the manner in which the representatives of the people in these Councils have discharged their responsibilities to their King and country have already received welcome approval of two successive Viceroys of India. Indeed, even the Prime Minister in the very speech, with reference to which we have ventured to request Your Excellency's permission to present this Address, has admitted that even during the short period that the Reformed Councils have been in existence, "there has been a very considerable measure of success in spite of the drawbacks which have manifested themselves". In these circumstances, the Prime Minister's emphatic pronouncement, characterizing the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms as an experiment, the suitability of which to Indian conditions, according to him, yet remains to be seen, has rightly created wide-spread feelings of deep disappointment and grave concern in all Indian political circles.

Your Excellency, no responsible Indian can be desirous of injuring the position of existing members of our Indian Civil Service, or of depriving them in any manner of the emoluments which they at present enjoy. Moreover, we all recognize that for some time to come the presence of a British element in our Services will be conducive to the best interests of the Indian administration. But, for the Prime Minister to characterize the British element in our Services as the steel-frame of the whole structure on which alone you must build and the removal of which, according to him, must result in the collapse of the fabric, and to say that he could see no period when India could dispense with the guidance and assistance of the British Civil Servant, amounts to a denial of the basic principle of responsible government. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Prime Minister's pronouncements have given rise to a fear lest, in making them, the Head of His Majesty's Government be going back upon the solemn pledge given in Parliament on 20th August 1917 and finally carried out in its adoption by Parliament in the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919.

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Your Excellency, as the Head of the Government of India, you are the guardian of the interest of 315 millions of His Majesty's subjects in this country. You have already, in many ways, given proof of your generous sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the people. Just at the moment when political conditions in India were steadily undergoing improvement and the hearts of sincere well-wishers of Indian constitutional progress were full of hope, the pronouncement made by His Majesty's Prime Minister has created in this country a position which it is essential, alike in the interests of the Government as well as of the people, should be cleared up. The only means, we venture to submit, of achieving this desirable end is a clear declaration that His Majesty's Government have no intention of going back upon the policy finally adopted in 1917 and 1919 of the ultimate grant of full responsible government to India and an authoritative re-affirmation of that policy. While entering our respectful but emphatic protest against the declarations made by the Prime Minister mentioned above, we earnestly appeal to Your Excellency to take the necessary steps to obtain such a declaration from His Majesty's Government in order to allay the fears which have profoundly disturbed the minds of all sincere well-wishers of peaceful progress in this country.

In conclusion, we beg to offer to Your Excellency our grateful thanks for having granted us this opportunity of giving expression to the feelings of deep concern which, at this moment, are creating grave misgivings throughout the length and breadth of India with regard not only to the constitutional changes which have already been introduced in this country but also to her future advancement towards the ultimate goal of full responsible government solemnly promised to her by the British Parliament as well as in the gracious message of our King-Emperor at the inauguration of the Reformed Councils.

List of Members of the Deputation.

1. BAWA UJAGAR SINGH BEDI, Member, Legislative Assembly.
2. Mr. M. K. REDDI GARU, Member, Legislative Assembly, Madras.
3. Sardar Bahadur SARDAR GAJJAN SINGH, C.I.E., Member, Legislative Assembly.

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4. Mian MUHAMMAD SHAH NAWAZ, Bar.-at-Law, Member, Punjab Legislative Council.
5. Sardar CHARANJIT SINGH of Kapurthala, Jullundur.
6. Major Nawab AHMED NAWAZ KHAN, M.B.E., Nawab of Dera Ismail Khan.
7. Sardar GULAB SINGH, Member, Legislative Assembly.
8. Sardar BIRBAL SINGH, Member, United Provinces Legislative Council.
9. Mr. P. K. SEN, Bar.-at-Law, Member, Legislative Council (Bihar and Orissa), Patna.
10. Dr. A. A. OWEN, M.D., Member, Punjab Legislative Council, Lahore.
11. Thakur NAWAB ALI KHAN, Member, United Provinces Legislative Council.
12. Khan Bahadur Maulvi INAM ALI, retired District and Sessions Judge, Lahore.
13. Khan Bahadur MIR MUHAMMAD KHAN, Vakil, Vice-President, Simla Municipality.
14. Mian MUHAMMAD RAFI, Bar.-at-Law, Lahore.
15. Mr. U. N. SEN.
16. Mr. P. MUKERJI, Vice-President, Punjab Chamber of Commerce.
17. Mr. KANHAYALAL GAUBA, Bar.-at-Law, son of the Hon'ble Mr. Harkishen Lal.
18. Mr. DINSHAW HIRJIBHOY FRAMJI, of Messrs. Framji and Company, Simla.
19. Mr. S. K. RUDRA, late Principal, St. Stephen's College, Delhi.
20. Sardar JAIDEO SINGH, Member, Punjab Chamber of Commerce.
21. Mr. NATHOO RAM, B.A., Bar.-at-Law, Simla.
22. Maulvi ABDUL GHAFUR, Reis of Simla.

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23. Sheikh MUHAMMAD AFLATOON, late Governor of Punjab, Reis of Lahore.
24. Mr. MUHAMMAD UMAR, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Simla.
25. Lala SHANKAR NATH, M.A., LL.B., Vakil, Simla.
23. Khan SAADAT ALL, Secretary, Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore.
27. Hakim ZAFARYAB Khan, Physician, Lahore.
28. Lala KANSHI RAM of Brahmo Samaj, Simla and Lahore.
29. Mian BASHIR AHMED, Bar.-at-Law, Lahore.

His Excellency in reply said:—

Gentlemen,—I cordially welcome your deputation and am glad you have availed yourself of this means of expressing your views in plain, forcible yet restrained language. It also affords me the opportunity of making a reply which, I trust, will completely relieve your apprehensions and anxieties. I have followed the comments and criticisms reflecting public opinion in India upon the speech of the Prime Minister with close attention, and I have been distressed to observe that you and others have thought the language of the speech was in conflict with the declared policy of the British Parliament as embodied in the preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919, and denoted a departure from the policy of His Majesty's Government announced in formal declarations and His Majesty's proclamations. I can well understand that those who have come to these conclusions are, as you say, deeply disappointed and gravely concerned. Let me assure you that if your inferences were correct I should share your feelings and you would have my fullest sympathy. But in my judgment, and as I have understood the speech, there is no real ground for this sombre and almost sinister view of the Prime Minister's language. You will, I am sure, agree with me that the meaning the Prime Minister intended to convey to his audience and to India cannot

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properly be gathered from selected isolated passages, but must be taken from the whole speech and with due regard to the circumstances that led to its delivery and the purposes the Prime Minister sought to achieve. I have studied the speech and have re-read it by the light of the fierce criticism directed in India against it, and I remain of my first opinion and am unable to accept the meaning attributed to it in many quarters. Let me tell you how I understood it. When I read the text of the speech, and particularly in the light of the debate in the House of Commons, I concluded that the Prime Minister intended to serve two purposes : the first, to utter a note of solemn warning to those who, after the next election might intend to pursue the deliberate policy in the Legislature of paralysing the activities of Government, of rendering it impotent and reducing administration to chaos. Please observe that his note of warning is directed to the actions of those who may wish after the next election to wreck the Reforms. It is given not for the purpose of indicating a change in the future policy of His Majesty's Government but with the object of concentrating attention upon the mischievous consequences of the threatened action. You will remember that a section of those who are avowedly hostile to the Reforms advocate the plan of becoming members of the Legislature in order that they may destroy it and the Reformed Constitution.

The Prime Minister's second purpose, as I understood it was to give confidence to the members of the Civil Service, who have played and still play so great and important a part in the administration of India, to allay their apprehensions regarding their emoluments and pensions and general position since the Reforms, and to assure them of his sympathy in the performance

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of their trust and in the difficulties that confront them owing to changed conditions and increased cost of living, etc. It is common knowledge that there is now in England a marked disinclination to enter the Indian Civil Services. This has seriously disturbed those of us who have great faith in the Services, and realize their importance in the progress and development of India. I do not pause here to discuss the changed conditions. I merely refer to them at this moment for the purpose of understanding the Prime Minister's speech. It is I think obvious that these were the objects in the Prime Minister's mind when he addressed the House in reply to speeches made by Hon'ble Members upon Indian affairs. I have some experience of the House of Commons and also of the Prime Minister, and I can assure you that had he intended to announce or indicate a change of policy of His Majesty's Government he would not have failed to make his meaning clear, and he would have left no room for argument regarding his intentions. No speaker is more capable of expressing himself lucidly and forcibly. If I had had any doubt as to his meaning it would have been removed immediately I read the account of the debate in the House. What happened? After the Prime Minister had spoken Colonel Wedgwood asserted that the Prime Minister had threatened to withdraw the Reforms. Sir Donald Maclean, who had also heard the speech and is opposed to the Prime Minister and his Government and who is one of the leading Members of Parliament and of the Liberal Party, immediately dissented from this view and gave his interpretation of the speech, to which, as publicly reported, Mr. Lloyd George nodded assent. Lord Winterton, the Minister in charge of Indian affairs in the House of Commons, gave most complete

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and unqualified denial to the suggestions of Colonel Wedgwood, and here again, the Prime Minister, seated on the Government Bench, in the presence of the members of his Government and of the House of Commons, made a gesture of assent which again was publicly reported, so that in the presence of his colleagues and of the assembled House the Prime Minister immediately repudiated the intentions imputed to him. Surely this is conclusive, and any ambiguity of language which may have existed, ceased to have importance.

But on so grave a matter there should not be room for the faintest possibility of doubt, and I therefore placed myself in communication with the Prime Minister who authorizes me to say that nothing in his statement to the House of Commons was intended to conflict with, or to indicate any departure from, the policy announced in the formal declarations and His Majesty's proclamations. I trust therefore that in any future observations there will be no place for the suggestion that the speech either did mark, or was intended to mark, a change of policy by His Majesty's Government. You have sought to ascertain whether there was any ground for the fears and apprehensions that beset you and others by reason of certain particular passages and expressions in the Prime Minister's speech. The answer is given in plain and unequivocal terms and should end controversy as to the meaning the Prime Minister intended to convey.

In view of the explicit statements already made I am not minded to examine with you in detail particular words or sentences used by the Prime Minister. We are not discussing an Act of Parliament. You have sought to ascertain what the Prime Minister meant by words which appear to you to be

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capable of an interpretation of grave import to India. That apprehension is however disposed of by the statement I have made to you. Yet you and others have laid so much stress upon, and directed so much criticism to, the use of the word "experiment" that I detain you for a moment to point out that in my judgment there is no ground for suggesting that the word as used or otherwise denotes a change of policy. Much attention has been concentrated upon this word, and many subtle and ingenious attempts have been made to read into its use some new declaration or indication of policy, and yet I think it requires a very cursory study of the whole of the literature upon the Reforms, including the preamble and other parts of the Statute, to realize that the plan adopted was a constitutional experiment. The Prime Minister in his speech said: "There have been very able and distinguished Indians who have done their best to make the experiment a complete success, but others who have steadily opposed it. A good deal will depend upon the kind of representatives chosen at the next election, whether they will be men of moderate temper such as those who constitute the present Legislature, men who are honestly and earnestly trying to do their best to make the new constitutional experiment a success, or whether they would be men who are simply using all the powers of the machine in order to attain some purpose which is detrimental to British rule and subversive of the whole system upon which India has been governed up to now." I would call particular attention to the words "men who are honestly and earnestly trying to do their best to make the new constitutional experiment a success". Does not that truly describe the position? Is not the new constitution under the Government of India Act a new departure, and, be

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it added, one of the most momentous character? The Government of India Act, as we all know, was passed to carry out the new policy introduced by the declaration of August 20th, 1917, substantially repeated in the preamble of the Statute. Is it not a perfectly legitimate use of popular language to refer to a new and hitherto untried departure as an experiment? May not every new venture by human beings be properly described as an experiment until it has achieved its object? In the present case there is fortunately no doubt—as the Prime Minister has pointed out more than once in his speech, that a very considerable measure of success has already been attained even during the limited period of one year and a half of the existence of the new constitution. The Prime Minister made generous references in his speech to the able and distinguished Indians who have striven their utmost to make the Reforms succeed and his language shows that he is as desirous as they that their efforts should ultimately prove completely successful, and although it is, I trust, scarcely necessary, I would add my fervent hope and my earnest prayer that nothing will happen to mar the success of this policy.

I notice also that not only you but others are seriously perturbed by the sentences quoted by you from the Prime Minister's speech relating to the Civil Services. I have already stated the circumstances that caused the Prime Minister to speak on the condition of the Indian Civil Services in this debate. As I gather from such reports of the debate as I have seen, this was the precise point raised by the speeches of the Members of Parliament who had introduced the subject of India into the debate then proceeding. I gather, both from your address and from all I have read and heard, that there is apprehension lest this

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language should indicate a modification of the hitherto pursued policy in accordance with the declaration in the preamble of the Statute: first, there are apprehensions regarding the provision for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration. It is unnecessary now to labour discussion as to the meaning of the Prime Minister's language, for he has made quite plain that there is no ground whatever for this apprehension; secondly, the fear has been expressed that it was no longer intended by His Majesty's Government that there should be the gradual development in India of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible self-government in British India of course as an integral part of the Empire. Once again, the Prime Minister has stated that there is no foundation for this apprehension, and that the words of the preamble to the Statute which I have quoted stand now where they did before he made his speech and that no change was indicated by him.

The assurances I have been enabled to give you should lay at rest your fears and anxieties, and have I trust convinced you that the formal declarations and proclamations, so prized by you, are not affected by the Prime Minister's speech; that he never intended that they should be affected, that he meant them to remain and they do remain exactly as they were before the debate in question. I have myself wondered that it could be thought that solemn promises and declarations made by His Majesty's Government and by the King-Emperor and translated into an Act of Parliament could be so lightly changed or modified, or that an intention to change would be arrived at without consultation with the Viceroy and the Government of India. I have already given expression to my views upon the

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Reforms and shall content myself to-day with repeating to you that I have the closest sympathy with your desire to proceed along the road marked out in the famous declaration and I trust that you and all those who wish well to the new constitution, and I and my colleagues in the Government of India, may continue in co-operation to labour for the eventual realization of your aims.

5th September 1922.

OPENING OF THE AUTUMN SESSION OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE, SIMLA, 1922.

His Excellency the Viceroy opened in State the Autumn Session of the Indian Legislature in the Chamber of the Legislative Assembly at Simla on the morning of the 5th September, and delivered the following speech:—

Once again it is my pleasant task to welcome you, the Members of the Indian Legislature, to the labours of a new session.

Since I last addressed you, many events of importance to India have occurred. Foremost among these is enshrined in our thoughts—the visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A year ago in my address to you I predicted that we might with confidence count on a welcome from India to His Royal Highness characteristic of the traditional loyalty and devotion of the Indian people to the Royal House, and this confidence found a warm echo in your debates and activities.

It is a source of deep gratification to us now that His Royal Highness has come and gone to feel that our predictions have been justified. In spite of organised attempts to mar the reception on the part of a section of the community, all classes in

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British India and the Ruling States threw themselves with enthusiasm into the privileged task of welcoming His Royal Highness. His Royal Highness has moved among us and his visit has demonstrated the loyalty of India to His Majesty the King-Emperor. His Royal Highness captivated us by his great personal charm ; he inspired us by his high sense of public duty and by his keen interest in all classes of His Majesty's subjects and in all our activities and problems. We are fortunate indeed in that the great traditions of the British Crown will, in the fulness of time, be continued by him who came to us to know India and to be known by her and who left India with an abiding interest in her welfare.

In the domain of external affairs, the subject uppermost in our minds is the proposed revision of the Treaty of Sevres. I can now add little to the statement I made at Peshawar in April last save to assure you that every stage in the developments is followed by my Government with keen and watchful interest, and whatever action we can with propriety adopt to lay before the British Government the reasonable aspirations of the Moslems of India regarding these developments, we have taken and shall not fail to take.

It is gratifying to observe that the activities of my Government have not been without effect upon the Moslem population of India, who have readily acknowledged and appreciated that my Government have done their utmost to impress the Indian Muhammadan view upon His Majesty's Government. At this moment negotiations are proceeding with the object of arriving at a solution of this difficult and delicate problem and it is therefore undesirable for me to discuss the situation. I will only remind you that, as already stated by His Majesty's Government, the representations will be fully considered and due

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weight will be attached to them by His Majesty's Government in so far as these are compatible with justice, their obligations to their Allies, and the adequate safeguarding of minorities. It is most earnestly to be hoped that these efforts of His Majesty's Government and their Allies will shortly result in the complete restoration of peace to the Near East.

I am glad to inform you that cordial relations subsist with all the Powers on our borders. Since I last addressed you a treaty has been concluded between His Majesty's Government and Afghanistan, and I feel confident that the bonds of friendship between Afghanistan and ourselves will be maintained and grow in strength.

There is peace on our tribal frontier except in Waziristan, and even there I had hoped that the results achieved would enable me to announce to you the winning stage in long protracted operations. Owing to the gallantry of our troops, substantial progress has already been made in the very difficult conditions well known to all who are acquainted with this frontier. But while some of the Wazir and Mahsud tribal sections have entered into satisfactory engagements with us, we have still to secure that complete tribal unanimity and co-operation which alone can effectively maintain peace. Our object in Waziristan is to ensure the security of life, honour, and property of those who are entitled to our protection, whilst keeping our expenditure within the narrowest limits commensurate with our purpose.

In dealing with external affairs and our borders, I may refer to the position of Indians in the Dominions and Colonies overseas. The Standing Emigration Committee is now advising the

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Government of India on all emigration matters of major importance. Our policy is embodied in the new Emigration Act which received my assent last March. At present emigration of unskilled labour is illegal, except to Ceylon, the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States to which the new Act will only apply next March. Deputations from Ceylon and Malaya are with us discussing the details of the proposals which, on the advice of the Committee, we have placed before their Governments, and the Government of the Straits Settlements are embodying in their local legislation the provisions which we are advised to secure in that Colony. I desire to acknowledge the cordial spirit in which Colonial Governments are co-operating with my Government to make conditions of Indian emigration free from all reasonable objection.

The important aspects of Mr. Sastri's mission were referred to by me in a speech I made on the eve of his departure. We have every reason to be gratified by the impression which he has made and by the warm reception extended to him. Mr. Sastri has already been successful in obtaining the removal of some minor disabilities affecting domiciled Indians and we trust that in course of time on larger questions also, on which ministers cannot immediately extend promises in advance of the mandate of their electorates, the atmosphere of friendly feeling towards India created by his visit may conduce towards the realisation of our reasonable expectations.

My Government have been in correspondence with the Government of the Union of South Africa regarding the recommendations of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission. We have not been able as yet to reach an agreement in principle, but we are still engaged in attempts to arrive at a better understanding.

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The Union Government by their recent action in suspending the operation of two Ordinances in Natal have given proof of their desire that most careful and impartial inquiries should be made before any step is taken which is likely to affect the position of Indians in any part of the Union.

In reference to repatriation from Natal, my Government have made careful investigation. No case has been brought to their notice in which repatriation has been other than entirely voluntary.

The Report of the Deputation to British Guiana has not yet been received. We have the summary of the recommendations of the Fiji Deputation and their Report will be taken into consideration by my Government as soon as it reaches us. The condition of the sugar industry in those islands gives us cause for apprehension that Indians in Fiji may no longer be able to earn a living wage, and the Government of India are engaged in arranging at the cost of that Colony for facilities for repatriation of all Indians who desire to return.

Conversations are proceeding between the Colonial Office and the India Office regarding the position of Indians in Kenya. The Government of India are carefully watching developments and I trust a satisfactory settlement of the difficult questions involved may soon be reached.

I note your anxiety in watching the fortunes of our Indian brethren overseas. Let me assure you that my Government have been and will be unremitting in asserting their rights and urging their cause in all parts of the Empire. If I do not say more upon this occasion, I hope you will understand that it is not because I am unmindful of the vast importance of the subject. I shall be in a better position to address you more fully when the

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result of the pending discussions has been reached and can be announced.

When we turn to matters nearer home, a subject of first importance to us is finance. I need not go into the story of our deficit, but you may be assured that my Government is making every effort to bring about the equalization of expenditure to revenue. The first step is retrenchment. I have explained to a deputation which addressed me the measures adopted by my Government to attain this object and I feel that they will command confidence. We must now await the recommendations which the Retrenchment Committee will place before us. The results of our loan operations have been encouraging. You will have seen that our Sterling Loan realised $12\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds and our Rupee Loan 46 crores, of which 43 were new money. By the mercy of Providence good harvests have mitigated our grave anxieties on account of the enormous rise of the price of food-grains prevailing when I last addressed you. A fall in prices has now occurred, sharper than even the previous rise. This year's monsoon has been, on the whole, favourable and I trust that we may look with hope for a continuance of plentiful stocks and lower prices of the first necessities of life, and that this improvement may conduce to remove economic discontent—so often the root cause of political malaise.

There is a matter to which I may refer as being of special interest to this Legislature. We are making an addition to our machinery. Rules have been framed for the appointment of further Standing Committees of the Indian Legislature to various departments of the Government of India and for the definition of their functions and their procedure. The duties of the Committees will be of an advisory nature, and I trust

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that the departments will find the Committees of real assistance and that the members of the Committees on their part will gain a wider insight into the problems of the administration, and that experience will demonstrate the benefits to be derived from the continuance of this system.

Last year I warned you that you could not expect to garner so rich a harvest of achievement every session, but with your subsequent record before me, I doubt the correctness of my prediction. Time will only permit me to chronicle a few of your most important achievements ; but the list, even with this limit, refutes the malice of those who belittle the Reformed Constitution and decry the efforts of those who, like you, believe that only through constitutional methods can the aspirations of the Indian people be fulfilled.

The Press Act of 1910 has been repealed. In this connection I pointed out last year that the repeal of the Act might necessitate the consideration of the form of protection to be given to the Princes against seditious attacks upon them in newspapers published in British India. In the meantime the Local Governments have been consulted and this question has been closely examined and has been the subject of correspondence between my Government and the Secretary of State. We have decided that we are bound by agreements and in honour to afford to the Princes the same measure of protection as they previously enjoyed under the Press Act which is the only protection available to them ; and a Bill to secure this object will be brought before you in the present session. This protection to the Princes was first given by the Act of 1910. It is not suggested that it has been abused and the only reason for its repeal is because in British India we have decided to dispense

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with the special remedies under the Press Act and to rely upon the general law which is not applicable to the Princes.

The Report of the Committee appointed to examine certain laws conferring extraordinary powers on the Executive has resulted in the repeal of 23 Acts and Regulations supplementing the ordinary criminal law. The Acts repealed include the Defence of India Act, 1915, the Statute known as the Rowlatt Act, and part of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1908. I congratulate you on passing into law last winter session the Amending Factories Act—a very important piece of social legislation.

You have an arduous programme of legislation before you. Among important measures I may mention a Bill to amend the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, which has been under discussion for some years ; the voluminous matter collected has been examined by a Select Committee, whose report will be before you shortly. Another Bill is that abolishing transportation as a form of punishment. The Indian Mines Act, which is designed to make improvements in the provisions to secure the safety, welfare, and efficiency of mine-workers, will also come before you. Last year I foreshadowed two other measures destined to benefit the labouring classes of the country. Legislation for workmen's compensation has been advocated by the leading association of employers and employes and the majority of the Local Governments. The proposals have been examined by a Committee, the majority of whose recommendations will be laid before you in the form of a Bill. We hope also to place our considered decisions regarding protection and legal status of trades unions before you.

Interest naturally centres round the deliberations of the Fiscal Commission. The Commission opened its inquiries in

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November last and concluded them in July. I believe that the members were unable to come to a unanimous decision, and the preparation of the minority note has delayed the submission of the report to Government. It is hoped, however, that copies of the full report will shortly be in the hands of Members of the Legislature.

I turn now to railways. It is only a year since we received the report of Sir William Acworth's Committee. The Assembly took the most important decision regarding railways which has been arrived at for many years in setting aside a sum of 150 crores for the next quinquennium for use on rehabilitation. Railway administrations are now able to look ahead and plan an ordered programme of capital expenditure. The proposal that railway finance should be separated from general finance has not been found at present possible by the Committee which examined the point, but the matter has still to come before the Legislatures. The question of the reorganisation of the Railway Board is under examination. A Central Advisory Board consisting of Members of the Legislatures—a different composition from that advocated by the Acworth Committee, but one better suited to our needs and conditions—has been established. It has begun work and will examine many questions connected with railways which must come before you. The question of a Rates Tribunal will soon be ready for the preliminary scrutiny of this Board. We are fully conscious of the importance of the Acworth Committee's report, and are pressing the issues raised by it to a conclusion.

You will be interested to learn that since last September considerable progress has been made with the development of the Territorial Force. In addition to the University Training

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Corps, twenty provincial battalions have been constituted and the numbers enrolled total more than 10,000. Some units have undergone their first training with satisfactory results. General Burnett-Stuart, who conducted the recent operations in Malabar, commented in his farewell order to the Madras District on the good start made by the battalions in that Presidency. While it is too early to judge of the military value of the force, the first steps are certainly encouraging.

Indian candidates continue to be selected for the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, but I regret to say that my Government have cause for anxiety in that so few candidates possessing the necessary qualifications have come forward for selection. In these circumstances I am gratified to know that the College designed to train Indian boys who aspire to enter Sandhurst has now been established at Dehra Dun. The College was formally opened by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales last March, and I have subsequently visited it. There are 37 boys under tuition, accommodation for larger numbers is being provided, and the report on the first term's work of the College is decidedly satisfactory.

Air Vice-Marshal Sir John Salmond is at present in India to examine and report to my Government upon the Air Force and whether economies in defence expenditure can be effected by increased use of the Air Force in co-operation with our Army for the external and internal protection of India. He has completed his inquiries and has submitted his report which will require most careful study.

I shall not to-day follow the more conventional course of referring in greater detail either to the work accomplished by the Legislature and the Government Departments during the

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last twelve months or to the proposals to be laid before you by the Government during this session. I prefer to use this opportunity to consider with you matters of wider import to India and her future, which I know are seriously engaging your thoughts and forming the subject of your discussions. When considering the observations I am about to address to you I would ask you to keep in mind that I came to India immediately after the initiation of the Reformed Constitution and that I was consequently entrusted with additional responsibilities which had not been laid upon my predecessors. A solemn declaration of policy had been made by His Majesty's Government, the necessary legislation had been passed, and, be it observed, not by one political party, but with the assent of all political parties in England, and the formal ceremonies of the inauguration of the new Legislature had been performed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught on behalf of His Majesty. I came charged with the task of helping to guide India along the road of constitutional progress to the ultimate realisation of her aims in accordance with the declaration of 1917 and His Majesty's proclamation, and under the special directions of His Majesty the King-Emperor contained in the Instrument of Instructions issued to me with my Warrant of Appointment as appears from the following paragraph :—

“ For above all things it is Our will and pleasure that the plans laid by Our Parliament for the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of Our Empire may come to fruition, to the end that British India may attain its due place among Our Dominions. Therefore We do charge Our said Governor-General by the means aforesaid and by all other means which may to him seem fit to guide

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the course of Our subjects in India whose governance We have committed to his charge so that, subject on the one hand always to the determination of Our Parliament, and, on the other hand, to the co-operation of those on whom new opportunities of service have been conferred, progress towards such realisation may ever advance to the benefit of all Our subjects in India."

That policy remains unchanged, and if any shadow of doubt upon this subject lingered in the minds of any one it should be removed by the statement the Prime Minister recently authorized me to make and which I communicated to the deputation that waited upon me a short time ago. The Prime Minister speaks with the highest authority, for not only is he Prime Minister and the head of His Majesty's Government and responsible for its policy, but he is the Prime Minister who presided over the Councils of His Majesty's Government when the declaration of 1917 was made and was responsible to Parliament when the Government of India Act, 1919, was introduced and passed.

It is now nearly eighteen months since I arrived in India and assumed the responsibility of my high office, and I need not say that I have watched with a keen and deep interest the progress made by this Legislature and the Legislative Councils in the Local Governments. Almost from the first moment of my arrival I observed that agitation was proceeding with a view to obtaining an immediate or almost immediate extension of the powers given under the new Constitution, which had then been but a few months in operation. As time progressed I learnt that there was an element of doubt, and even suspicion, regarding the intentions of His Majesty's Government to fulfil

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the promises they had made. It seemed difficult to understand that doubt should be entertained regarding promises solemnly made and deliberately expressed in formal documents. I have searched for grounds for these doubts and suspicions and have failed to find any reasonable basis for them. There is no promise that has been broken ; there is no pledge that has been violated either by His Majesty's Government or my Government. Within the short period that has elapsed both His Majesty's Government and the Government of India have acted in accordance with the promises and pledges given. Why then is there this doubt ? I cannot but think that in the natural desire of India for progress attention has been too much concentrated upon the promises to India while perhaps insufficient regard has been paid to the language both of the declaration and the preamble to the Statute. It is there stated that the goal is the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government within the Empire. Advance is to be by stages. The time and manner of advance are to be judged by the British Parliament. Their judgment is to depend on the co-operation of the people of India and the development of their sense of responsibility. This is the foundation upon which the future progress of India is to be built. The eventual completion of the structure will take place when the British Parliament is satisfied respecting the essential considerations above stated. I am putting the position very plainly to you ; I feel it is right that I should. You will remember, I trust, that I am speaking in the interests of India of which I am the present custodian subject always to responsibility to His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament. Be assured that I am

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not the less in sympathy with the national aspirations of India because I survey the situation, as I necessarily must, with a knowledge that India's future progress depends both as to time and manner of advance upon the good-will of the British Parliament.

Gentlemen, you have reason to be satisfied with the success you have already achieved in this Legislature during the short period of its existence. In the language recently used by the Prime Minister "there has been a very considerable measure of success" and very able and distinguished Indians have contributed to achieve this result. But this is only one part—although a very important part—of the picture. There is another aspect which I am sure presents itself to your minds at this moment, and I would ask you whether the events in India of the last eighteen months can fairly and reasonably be regarded as assisting the efforts you have made towards realisation of your aims, and whether indeed these events have not proved a hindrance and an obstruction to the progress of India? We have seen the Legislatures and all co-operating in constitutional progress doing their utmost to march forward. I wish this were the whole story; but facts must be faced and we cannot ignore that a section of the people of India have spared no effort not only to withhold their own co-operation but to hinder and intimidate others. They have not stopped short of violence, they have not hesitated to foster antagonism to settled government, to stir up racial hatred and to lead the way back to chaos and anarchy. The acts of this section during His Royal Highness' visit are too well known to you to require recapitulation; here in India we know that they do not represent the real views of the Indian people. But can you wonder that they created a deplorable impression upon the British people throughout the

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Empire notwithstanding the devotion and loyalty of the great majority of the people of India ? The mischief was deliberately done, and in spite of the solemn warning I ventured to give of its inevitable effect upon the British people and the British Parliament.

I have said enough of the past : I now turn to the future. I look with confidence to you for help. If we are to secure the progress we all desire, we must create the atmosphere in which it can develop. There must be respect for law and order and support for constituted authority and for established government. Malign influences which mislead the uneducated masses into excess must be combated. We must see that the objects we are striving to achieve are understood and make appeal to the intelligence of the masses and command their sympathy. We must convince them of the sincerity of our purpose ; we must make them feel assured that the first motive of all our actions is their ultimate well-being. You must attempt to diffuse that clearer vision with which you have been gifted. You must help others to share in that wider outlook and in those opportunities for material welfare which you enjoy. Defensive tactics alone will not suffice—we must lead and guide—upwards and onwards.

The task is not easy. It requires application ; it calls for patience ; but it is one which I am confident that your efforts can bring to a successful issue. It is a task in which you may rely on the fullest support of my Government and of the Civil Services, who, in the face of much misrepresentation and hostility, have freely and unsparingly co-operated to work the Reformed Constitution and continue to labour for its success. They are ready to help you : and they also look for your help.

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Simla Rifles Drill Hall at Simla.

You hear around you propaganda against the Reforms ; your rights are assailed by misrepresentations ; your privileges and prospects are attacked ; your achievements are belittled ; your aims are vilified. Last year I urged you to counter-action. I impressed on you that the electorate required education. I have the same advice to repeat to you now ; but I repeat it with more force and insistence. For another year has passed and a new election is within sight and I make my earnest appeal to you in the interests of India so dear to your hearts to lend your influence and authority to help India forward to the attainment of her ultimate aims, to continue the advance which will secure to her, in the fullest degree, the great place that awaits her within the Empire.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE SIMLA RIFLES
DRILL HALL AT SIMLA.

14th October
1922.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone of the Simla Rifles Drill Hall at Simla on the morning of the 14th October :—

General Sir Claude Jacob, Officers and men of the Simla Rifles, —
It is a special pleasure to me for more than one reason to perform this ceremony to-day. In the first place it gives me, as Honorary Colonel of the Simla Rifles, an opportunity of being associated with a new development, which I believe to be of great importance to that Battalion.

This building, of which I am to lay the foundation stone to-day, will admittedly meet a real need and help to promote the efficiency of the Simla Rifles. But laudable as these immediate purposes are, I entertain far wider hopes for it ; I trust

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Simla Rifles Drill Hall at Simla.

that it will enshrine and perpetuate the traditions which have animated and inspired men serving in this Battalion under varying conditions for the last sixty years.

I welcome the central position chosen for this building—a site which has been made possible by the kind offices of the Government of the Punjab and the Municipal Committee of Simla. It is my hope that the building to be erected here will cause others to realize the great truth, which you attending this parade have realized. For you who stand in the ranks to-day have not merely enrolled yourselves in a Battalion of the Auxiliary Forces; you have elected to serve in a far more formidable unit. You belong, by conviction and by active participation, to the great army of the truly loyal and patriotic citizens of the Empire. In spite of the exacting nature of your civil occupations and employments you have thought it your duty to train yourselves in the use of arms and to learn the first principles of discipline and drill so that in the time of need your country may rely on you to help to suppress internal disorder or to assist as a reserve when the Regular Army is called upon to deal with external danger. You have looked beyond your personal interests to the common weal. You have given a practical expression of that spirit of sacrifice for the common good which makes great countries and great Empires.

One word more—I should like to congratulate the Commanding Officer and his Adjutant on the smart turn out of their men, the numbers of men on Parade and their efficient appearance. I fully realize the difficulties which attend service in this force in Simla, and these difficulties enhance the high estimation in which I hold the good work performed by the Simla Rifles.

Installation of the Maharaja of Rewa.

I cannot conclude to-day without expressing my appreciation of the devoted interest taken by your Commanding Officer, Sir Sydney Crookshank, in the welfare and efficiency of this Corps and of the zeal he has displayed in the service of this Battalion.

INSTALLATION OF THE MAHARAJA OF REWA.

31st October 1922.

During the course of the Autumn tour His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General held a Durbar at the Residency, Indore, to invest His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa with ruling powers. In investing His Highness 'His Excellency said :—,

Your Highnesses, Sardars and Gentlemen,—This is the first time since I have been in India that I have been present personally to invest a young Ruling Prince with the power of administration of his State. I much regret that a temporary indisposition has prevented my visiting the State of Rewa as I had intended, but I am glad that I have the opportunity here at the Residency of taking part in this Investiture. It is also the first occasion on which a Maharaja of Rewa has received his powers direct from the hands of a Governor-General of India, and I welcome it with pleasure as affording me an opportunity of evincing my personal interest in a young Prince whose forebears have ever been conspicuous by their steadfast devotion and loyalty to the British Crown. The loyal services of Maharaja Raghuraj Singh, who in the dark days of 1857 contributed a contingent force of 2,000 men to assist in keeping order in Baghelkhand, were brilliantly emulated by Your Highness' father, who on the outbreak of the great war in 1914 was one

Installation of the Maharaja of Rewa.

of the first of the Princes and Ruling Chiefs of India to assert his enthusiastic loyalty to the King-Emperor by placing the whole resources of his State at the disposal of the Empire. At a time when the moral and material support of the Princes of India was of incalculable value, the telegram sent by the late Maharaja of Rewa was strikingly characteristic; it read:—
“ Kindly enquire if there are any orders for me and my army from His Majesty the King-Emperor or Government of India.”
Your Highness cannot fail to be inspired and stimulated by the precept and example of the past Rulers of Rewa.

It is four years since Your Highness succeeded to the Gadi. The head of the administration during the minority has been Colonel His Highness Maharaja Sir Sajjan Singh, to whom the Rewa Durbar owes a deep debt of gratitude for his self-sacrifice in undertaking the onerous duties of Regent in addition to those already devolving upon him as the Ruler of Ratlam. The Regent has been ably assisted by the President and Members of the Executive Council, while Major Colvin, the late Political Agent, has also devoted much time and thought to the administration, and for some 10 months acted as Regent during the absence of the Maharaja of Ratlam.

The progressive policy of the Council has made itself felt in every branch of the administration and Your Highness may well be gratified at the account which the Council are able to give of their stewardship. The normal margin between revenue and expenditure is small and yet, despite heavy expenditure on marriages of members of the Ruling Family and three successive lean years when famine conditions prevailed, the finances have been carefully husbanded and the State is free from debt.

Installation of the Maharaja of Rewa.

Irregular Survey and Settlement operations, which had been dragging on for nearly nine years under unqualified agency, have been replaced by a settlement which is now in progress under a qualified Settlement Officer. The lot of the peasantry has been ameliorated by the abolition of *Begar* and *Harwaha*.

The Public Works Department has been reorganized and a start has been made on improving communications by an extension of road construction.

Public health has received due attention.

The Police have been reorganized and placed on an efficient basis under the able supervision of Mr. Scott of the Central Provinces Police.

Separation has been effected of the Judicial and Executive functions of the administration.

Education is backward, but some advance has been made by the opening of an Anglo-Vernacular School and several new village schools.

Your Highness, it is a heavy burden of responsibility that you are undertaking to-day, for the discharge of which a high sense of duty and untiring industry are required. I look to Your Highness to realise this responsibility and by governing your State wisely, to ensure the happiness and prosperity of your people and the maintenance of the traditions of your house.

You have been ordained to take your place as head of this State at a period of change and transition. Events in the world have given birth to new ideas. Forces are at work which have awakened a new consciousness everywhere among the

Installation of the Maharaja of Rewa.

masses. New aspirations have been engendered. New standards are being created. New tests are being applied to the old order of things.

These forces cannot be ignored or excluded from consideration. They must be faced and dealt with. You have the priceless heritage of the devotion of your subjects. In these times of change and difficulty they will look to you for guidance and for sympathetic insight into those new influences which cannot fail to stir them. The best advice which I can give you in these difficult circumstances is to hold the welfare of your subjects constantly in your thoughts. Keep in touch with their hopes. Try to understand and meet their difficulties. Attempt to win their confidence and take them into yours. Where you are convinced that in any direction a reasonable desire for advance has been established and expressed, let a wise hand guide wholesome and reasonable development on lines best suited to your local needs. I know of no fairer prospect than that which opens out before you now when you succeed to a goodly heritage at the dawn of manhood. Your State possesses great possibilities in the development of its forest, coal and other mineral resources. In carrying on the schemes which the Council has had time only to start, Your Highness will have the satisfaction of providing for increased revenue and so of being able to extend further benefits to your people by developing educational facilities and by fostering and encouraging the inauguration of Co-operative Credit Societies, which are the only real remedy against agricultural indebtedness.

It is because I have every confidence that you will deal with all such problems in the best interests of your State and people that I am here, Maharaja, to instal you to-day.

Banquet at Gwalior.

You have had the requisite education and training. After spending some time at the Daly College, Indore, your education during the last four years has been under the direct control of Major K. Evans Gordon, who, I am glad to note, has won your confidence to an extent that has led you to make a special request for the retention of his services as your personal adviser.

Finally, you have acquired some practical experience of the working of the State departments and of the way in which to deal with the business of the administration.

From to-day you will begin to build up the reputation that will one day attach to Your Highness' name. You have round you helpers and advisers who wish you well and I assure you that I myself and the officers serving under me will always be ready to help you to discharge your high responsibility. May this day mark the commencement of an era of happiness and prosperity for yourself and your people and may you prove worthy of the great trust which you have inherited.

BANQUET AT GWALIOR.

3rd November 1922.

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior gave a banquet in honour of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading on the 3rd November. In reply to His Highness the Maharaja's speech proposing Their Excellencies' health, His Excellency the Viceroy spoke as follows :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—On my own behalf and on behalf of Her Excellency I thank Your Highness most warmly for your kind words and for the cordial manner in
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Banquet at Gwalior.

which you have drunk our health. It is not an easy task for me adequately to express my feelings of gratitude for the splendid welcome which Your Highness has accorded to us, or to find words to convey the pleasure which our reception in Gwalior has given us.

The high consideration which I have for Your Highness, the great importance of the Gwalior State, and the strength of the bond of mutual trust and regard which unites Gwalior and the British Government are all cogent reasons for my desire for some time past to pay a visit to Your Highness in your ancient capital. Unfortunately, as Your Highness is aware, a Viceroy is seldom at liberty to follow his inclinations, and my desire to pay an early visit to Gwalior had to give place to urgent matters connected with the administration, which kept me almost constantly tied to my headquarters during the earlier portion of my tenure of my high office. But if deferred, the opportunity of paying this visit now that it has come is all the more prized for the many reasons to which I have referred. My visit to Gwalior will be a memorable one for me, and Your Highness' kindness and thoughtfulness on our behalf and your hospitality will add to the pleasures of these memories.

I marked with deep gratification the observations made by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at the banquet which Your Highness gave in his honour last February. The high meed of praise which His Royal Highness paid to the loyal services of Your Highness and Your Highness' State to the Crown and Empire during more than a quarter of a century of your administration and, in particular, during the Great War, and the subtle but most just and accurate analysis given by His Royal Highness of the high motives which are the main-spring of Your Highness' actions, must have embarrassed Your

Banquet at Gwalior.

Highness, with your known modesty, almost as much to hear as they pleased me to read. His Royal Highness dealt so fully with the traditions of loyalty of the Gwalior State and with Your Highness' services to the Empire that I can add nothing but my whole-hearted agreement with the appreciation to which he gave expression.

I will say no more on this subject, but even in spite of Your Highness' invitation to me to refrain I must turn to other topics connected with Your Highness. In the first place, I desire to thank you, Your Highness, for the assistance you always so freely give in spite of many preoccupations and the interests of your own work, in the business of the Chamber of Princes and of the Standing Committee. The study you devote to the problems coming before these bodies, the frankness with which you state your opinion and, above all, your realisation of the interest of the Empire and the position of the Indian States in that Empire, are of the highest value in these discussions. I look upon Your Highness' advice and influence in these bodies as of very great service.

In your own State Your Highness has set a noble example by your administrative energy. I should need a long time if I were to attempt to give at all a complete appreciation of the progress which has been brought about in your State, or of the untiring activity which you apply to the development of its resources and to the advancement of the prosperity of its people. But I may mention a few features which have particularly arrested my attention. In the first place, I have noted with deep interest the various deliberative, consultative and legislative bodies which Your Highness, moving with the spirit of the times, has established. In addition to a Council composed

Banquet at Gwalior.

of the members of your Government, you have constituted a legislative body composed of nominated and elected non-official members, and besides you have brought into being a People's Assembly where resolutions can be moved on subjects connected with the public welfare. Service in Your Highness' legislative body I gather is no sinecure. I notice that it has passed several solid and comprehensive measures such as the Gwalior Penal Code and the Gwalior Code of Criminal Procedure.

Even more arresting to the observer are the various Boards which Your Highness has created. Your Parganah, District and Divisional Boards have some parallel in the local bodies of British India ; but in your Boards of Conciliation, your Court of Ward Boards and your Sahukar Boards, you have broken ground where we in British India have not yet had the hardihood even to trace a furrow. Your Highness has realised the importance of educating your people by joining them, in co-operation with your Government, in the exercise of various forms of responsibility connected with the administration of communal or public interest.

These institutions I regard as of fundamental importance. All progress must be gradual and well founded ; and it is only after the diffusion of experience in the management of local affairs, after a trial in some degree of perceptions in matters of finance and after the exercise of the faculty of judgment in the settlement of questions affecting others that the people as a whole can be led on to take any part of real value in the higher branches of administration.

Your Highness has also been untiring in the development of the material resources of the State, in the exploitation of its

Farewell Dinner to Sir William Vincent at Delhi.

natural products, and in the creation of industries calculated to enhance the prosperity of the people and add to the revenues of the administration.

I trust that I have been able in a measure to make clear my appreciation of the spirit which permeates the administration of the Gwalior State and to express my admiration of the solicitude for the needs and aspirations of all classes and creeds of his subjects displayed by its Ruler which so notably contribute to the real efficiency of the Government of this State.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I will now ask you to join me in drinking long life, health and prosperity to the Ruler of this State, His Highness the Maharaja Scindia, a true and loyal friend of the King-Emperor and the British Empire. I would also ask you at the same time to drink the same toast in honour of his two charming children who bear the name of our King and Queen, who are very dear to our host, and whom I have been delighted to meet here for the first time.

FAREWELL DINNER TO SIR WILLIAM VINCENT AT DELHI.**20th November 1922.**

His Excellency the Viceroy entertained Sir William Vincent, retiring Home Member, at a farewell banquet at Viceregal Lodge, which was largely attended by officials and non-officials including Lord Inchcape and His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior. The following is His Excellency's speech :—

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In the year of grace 1887, William Vincent, a youth of 21 years of age disembarked from the ship that had just arrived in India, entering upon his career in that great institution the Indian Civil Service.

Farewell Dinner to Sir William Vincent at Delhi.

He saw strange and wonderful surroundings yet unknown to him ; but nevertheless he looked hopefully and confidently to the future. That is as I picture him : and on his countenance were marked capacity, vigour, frankness, kindness and humour. Other qualities so well known to us were then latent, or at least, they had not left their impress upon his physiognomy. In the year of grace 1922 this youth, now Sir William Vincent, having risen to the arduous and responsible position of Vice-President of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Home Member in that Council and Leader of the House in the first Legislative Assembly of India under the Reforms is about to leave us to take up his new appointment in England as Member of the Secretary of State's Council.

Thirty-five years he has spent in the service of the Crown in India—a fine record, a long period. I shall not recapitulate to you the many offices he has held. If I did it would savour too much of an obituary notice which I hope will be delayed a great many years. But whatever posts Sir William has held, it can truly be said that he has faithfully and manfully discharged his duty. He has found that the reward of one duty is the proved capacity to fulfil another ; and so he has risen from one place to another until he became in April 1917 Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the Home Department, an office he still holds. Many have greater knowledge of his past than I ; but I know enough of it by repute to be assured that throughout all the places filled by him he may be proudly conscious of having striven his utmost to serve the Crown and to perform the duties entrusted to him. Neither will I refer to the many positions he has filled on Committees, discharging most important functions ; some of his colleagues are assembled around this table to-night to do him

Farewell Dinner to Sir William Vincent at Delhi.

honour. In that work—very important work—he has managed to combine steadfastness of purpose with tactfulness and skill in negotiation. But I speak of him not as I know him by repute but as I know him by closer association. Ever since I have occupied my present office I have seen much of him. Many of the difficulties that we have had to encounter have come within the sphere of his Department. Whenever I have turned to him he gave me the full benefit of his vast knowledge and experience. He was ever ready to serve, prompt in action, persuasive in debate and, perhaps most important, constructive in difficulties. At the last when his term of office was about to expire there were two occasions upon which I asked him, with the full assent of the authorities at home, to alter the arrangements he had made and to stay a little longer. I remember his answer to me on the first occasion. I knew it was inconvenient to him, but he said at once: “I will do whatever Your Excellency thinks best in the public interest.”

One further observation I would make with regard to his career upon which I have dilated very briefly. To him has fallen the distinction of acting as the Leader in the first Legislative Assembly of the All-India Legislature created under the Reforms—a historical fact to which, when the future of India comes to be written and India has travelled far along the road of progress, the student will turn; and in reading this early chapter he will find that many difficulties had to be encountered; he will realise that for the first time the Viceroy and his Council were faced with a Legislature not with a Government majority as always hitherto, but with a majority of elected representatives. During that time, as you are aware, many problems presented themselves and I very much doubt whether any man ever has had greater difficulties to face

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than Sir William Vincent had during this critical period. Whatever his views may have been with regard to the Reforms, whatever opinions he may have held, nevertheless as an important and loyal servant of the Crown he gave no expression to them once the Reforms were in force. On the other hand, he showed zeal and enthusiasm in his attempts to make these Reforms successful in setting out on the path mapped out for India and he loyally carried out the wishes of the Crown as announced in the Royal Proclamation. I often think that those who are striving equally with him to do their best in this task set a fine example. I am speaking of those who have acted quite regardless of their own private opinions; this example may help others to tread the same path; and those young men at home who are looking for a career in the future and pondering the choice they should make might well turn to the history of Sir William Vincent.

I will now convey to Sir William Vincent on behalf of the Secretary of State a message which he desired me to give of high appreciation of the services which Sir William has rendered and is still rendering and will render to India; I have one duty still to perform and I count it as a privilege. In importance it should have preceded everything that I have said because it is of far greater significance. Had I said it at the first, I should have found it difficult to make the other observations I have made to you. It is that His Majesty the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to confer upon Sir William the Grand Cross of the Indian Empire. This is an honour bestowed upon him in recognition of the services that he has rendered to India and the Empire.

Having finished what I may call the more ceremonial part of my speech, which is spoken in all earnestness and sincerity,

Farewell Dinner to Sir William Vincent at Delhi.

I turn for a brief minute to more personal aspects. I speak not of his faults which if recounted could only serve to enhance his virtues ; but among his many merits there is certainly one defect, and I turned to it to find some consolation for his departure. A file was brought to me and on that file Sir William Vincent had made some notes and a draft in his own handwriting. After a long and painful examination, assisted by my Private Secretary—a gentleman who could do anything—I had to give it up at last. Fortunately there was a note attached to it at the end, which said that for a special reason it had now become unnecessary to consider the draft. But in spite of that I think the draft should be preserved as it stands for all to look at in the future in order that we may test some of the young men and discover how far they would succeed in the examination of this cyphering ; if they can once decypher that, I believe there is no problem which they could not solve. I thought also of a paragraph I had just happened to read in a newspaper, and then I was very glad that Sir William Vincent had to go up for his examination before 1887 and not at the present period, for the examiners announced that in future they would be much more severe upon the students in their examination and deduct many more marks for poor handwriting.

But Sir William has many other qualities upon which I will not speak. I am told he knows all about beautiful flowers. He can tell you their names. I know he is a great gardener. He is a great student of human nature, and that is where he and I always met on common ground. I am very very sorry that unfortunately Lady Vincent is not here to-night to take her part in the honour which we are doing her husband. But I say for you and for myself that we send to her the warmest

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Farewell Dinner to Sir William Vincent at Delhi.

messages of good wishes for her future. We have the satisfaction of having one daughter of Sir William's here present, and I am sorry that it was not possible for the other daughter also to have graced us with her presence this evening. But I hope that they will remember that in the gathering to-night in this hall and in my observations made not only on my behalf but also on yours relating to their father is the expression of the sentiments of those who sincerely regard him as a friend and feel towards him with affection.

Sir William is going now to England, and there, I am glad to say, he will be the first representative on the Council of India who has had actual experience of the working of the Reforms, both of the Constitution and in the Legislature. For myself, I shall miss him, and I am sure will all my colleagues here. I do not really quite know what His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will do when he no longer gets the side whispers which are not supposed to reach me, but which make him laugh. I will only ask Sir William in thinking of India to remember that we appreciate all that he has done and rejoice that he carries with him a mark of the honour of His Majesty's recognition when he is just about to leave us. I ask you to join with me in drinking this toast to him. He will, I trust, take with him the recollection of the friends he has left behind in India and the good opinions he has won. I would ask him not to dwell—I am sure he won't—too much upon the criticisms that have been directed against him. Nor to pay too much regard to those things time has shown him might have been better done but to concentrate upon the work he actually has done. I ask you now to drink with me and to wish long life, health, prosperity and happiness to Sir William Vincent.

ADDRESSES FROM THE BIHAR LANDHOLDERS ASSOCIATION
AND THE BHUMIHAR BRAHMAN SABHA.

11th Decem-
ber 1922.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading accompanied by their staff left Delhi on the 10th December on a visit to Patna and Calcutta. The Bihar Landholders Association and the Bhumi-har Brahman Sabha presented addresses to the Viceroy at Patna, to which His Excellency made the following joint reply:—

Gentlemen,—I thank you very warmly for your kind address of welcome to me and which you have extended also to Her Excellency.

I assure you that it is a source of great pleasure to me to pay even this brief visit to the capital of the Province of Bihar and Orissa. For on historical, religious and other grounds this province appeals to the imagination with no common interest. History has taught us about the old civilizations and Empires that held sway here. Within your boundaries pilgrims flock to the sacred places, such as Budh Gaya and Jagannath, which are so closely associated with two of the dominating religious systems of the East. Patna holds a special interest for the British as one of the early trading outposts of the great English Company which grew to fame in Calcutta. Though Patna suffered an inevitable decline in trade when railways took the place of rivers as the great arteries of commerce, its ancient importance and prestige have now revived since its rebirth, by His Majesty's Command, as the metropolis of a new province. Bihar and Orissa have another additional interest in being the first British Indian province of which an Indian was appointed to hold charge as Governor under the Governor-General and the Crown. Lastly as the home of coal and iron and mineral wealth this province will attract increasing attention in the future.

Addresses from the Bihar Landholders Association and the Bhumihar Brahman Sabha.

The life of your young province has not been without its difficulties. Before its creation you relied on Calcutta and Bengal for all large provincial institutions such as universities, medical, engineering and other technical colleges. Bihar and Orissa has now had to attempt to create all these necessary and beneficent institutions afresh. There has in consequence (in spite of the fact that the Central Government take no contributions to central revenues from this province) been a serious disproportion between your finances and your needs. I deeply sympathise with your difficulties and with your feeling of disappointment that lack of funds is retarding progress and denies to you amenities and advantages which more fortunate neighbours enjoy ; but I feel confident that with care and vigilance and with co-operation between all classes, under the able guidance of your Governor, you will be empowered to advance and by judicious management to bring to fruition those objects, on the attainment of which you have so rightly set out.

I will now turn to subjects more closely connected with the Associations which you represent. I will say in the first place that I deeply value an address from your Associations because they are composed of the great Zemindars and the Landlord community of this Province. I appreciate the great value of their loyalty to the Crown and of their support to the administration at all times and more particularly in the Great War ; and I assign a high place to their influence both in the past and future as an important and stabilizing element in the history of this province. Under the reformed constitution the future of your province in many matters lies to a large extent in the hands of the enlightened classes in the province. Your class has a great position and great responsibilities. I have

Addresses from the Bihar Landholders Association and the Bhumihar Brahman Sabha.

confidence that you will devote yourselves with increasing energy to shouldering the burden of your obligations—the promotion of the well-being of the people of Bihar and Orissa—in a manner worthy of your status and position ; and I pray that in this task you may be rightly guided and that you may also be enabled to educate and prepare your sons to take your place in the fulness of time in the execution of the noble mission which you have inherited.

You have alluded to the tenancy legislation which will shortly engage the attention of your Legislature. Some of you who are present here to-day joined in an address to me March last and will recollect what I said on this subject on that occasion. I would remind you on the one hand that it is on the welfare, prosperity and contentment of his peasantry that the position, wealth and influence of a great landlord depend. On the other hand, the tenant class must not forget that their interests are largely wrapped up in those of their landlord ; and that any serious disintegration in the position of the landlords or disturbances in the relation between them and the landlords may have disastrous and far-reaching effects not only on the landlords but on the tenants themselves, which the latter may scarcely be able to visualise ; but which are familiar enough to students of these evolutions. Economic and other changes must inevitably lead to desire for readjustments and this is the reason of the legislation now in contemplation ; I realise that these readjustments often cause friction and misunderstanding ; but I am confident that these can be readily overcome if both parties approach the subject in a spirit of trust, with a desire for mutual understanding and for the subsistence of amicable relations of ancient standing. It is only

Presentation of Prizes at the Calcutta Free School.

right and fair that in the first place the provisions of tenancy law, where defective, should be placed on an equitable footing and in the second place that in any such process due regards should be paid to long-standing rights and privileges of landlords. I trust that it will be in this spirit that you will bring your agrarian legislation to a successful conclusion. Gentlemen, I thank you again on behalf of myself and of Her Excellency for your welcome.

15th De-
cember 1922.

PRESENTATION OF PRIZES AT THE CALCUTTA FREE SCHOOL.

Their Excellencies and Staff arrived at Calcutta on the 13th December. His Excellency the Viceroy was present at the Distribution of Prizes of the Calcutta Free School on the afternoon of the 15th December, and at its conclusion made the following speech :—

Mr. Principal and Governors,—I am glad to have been able to come here to-day for a variety of reasons. There is a traditional connection between the Governor-General and this ancient Foundation. Lord Cornwallis was the first of my predecessors to be identified with your interests ; and nearly 131 years have passed since he presided at a meeting of the Free School Society in Calcutta convened to secure educational support on a permanent basis for the children of British subjects in indigent circumstances. In becoming patron of this School on that occasion, Lord Cornwallis had no doubt in mind the fact that since the year 1726, through various vicissitudes, the beneficent objects served by this School had aroused unfailing interest among the European residents of Calcutta, and that the School carried traditions back to the first beginnings of European education in India. From that time onwards various Governors-General have watched over and helped your fortunes ;

Presentation of Prizes at the Calcutta Free School.

and so close was the interest taken by some of my predecessors in your affairs, that at one time the Governor-General's recommendation was a condition precedent to an election to the Foundation. At the time of the reorganisation of the Governing Body in 1833, Lord Bentinck, then Governor-General, became patron of the reconstituted administration ; and from that date till to-day successive Governors-General have consented to have their names borne on the rolls as patrons of this institution.

The Viceroy's prize, which I have to-day presented to the best boy and girl in the School, was instituted in 1868 by Lord Lawrence. I believe this prize was last bestowed by a Viceroy to a recipient at your annual prize giving by Lord Lansdowne more than thirty years ago. I am gratified to be able to-day to renew these ancient traditions and to follow in the footsteps of many of my distinguished predecessors not only because of old associations, but because the objects for which the School stands and the good work which it achieves make an even wider appeal to-day than they did in the past.

The population of Europeans and persons of European parentage in Calcutta has largely increased ; and owing to the rise in the cost of living there are, alas, numbered among them a considerable proportion of people in very narrow circumstances. At such a time a School, which feeds, clothes, educates and starts in professions free of cost a majority of its poorer students, must have a very strong claim on our sympathy ; and it is in order to give practical expression to my own sympathy and in hope to encourage others to share in the interest aroused by this School in me that I pay the visit to day.

Presentation of Prizes at the Calcutta Free School.

Before I came here, I read with interest two documents bearing on this School. Though they are very different in character, they produced the same effect on my mind—a feeling of gratification that I was connected with this School and that I was its patron.

The first of these documents you have before you. It is a very modest and straightforward account by the Principal, Mr. Hider, of the working and progress of the School in the present year, of the difficulties encountered and the successes achieved. The second is an interesting and detailed inspection report of Mr. Papworth, Inspector of European Schools in Bengal. Mr. Papworth has made a most searching and thorough enquiry into every aspect of the activities of the School; and his well-considered verdict is one which I think can be confidently endorsed. He places the School at the head of the institutions in Bengal classed as higher grade Schools, which aim at providing a sound general education with a practical bias, finding its completion in special vocational training. In spite of difficulties about finance and problems connected with accommodation and buildings inherent to all town Schools, the School holds a strong and almost unique position among the European Schools of the province—a position which should appeal to the generosity of the large business community of modern Calcutta with an interest even stronger to-day than that which heralded its inception and moulded its early history.

Not only are the general good qualities of the instruction and the soundness of the educational policy of the School clearly established by the successes achieved in departmental examinations, but they stand a far more practical and searching test;

Address from the Indian Mining Federation at Calcutta.

for, although the School, the largest of its kind in the province, caters entirely for the children of poor parents who can do little to start their children in life themselves, the Principal finds no real difficulty in obtaining suitable positions and employment on leaving for all those who have been educated at the School.

These results afford a striking testimony to the great forethought and care which the Governors and Principal have devoted to the organisation and administration of the institution and to the loyalty and high sense of responsibility which animates the staff in the execution of their duties.

I cannot close without a word to the boys and girls. You have a good School; and I know you will try to get the best out of it, to enhance its good reputation and not to lower in any way the high standards which it has been its pride to maintain. India is part of the British Empire; and you stand as the inheritors of the British stamp of conduct and character. When you leave the School and go out in India to various professions and employments, the Empire looks to you to set and preserve the example of those qualities which you have learnt in this School—qualities which have made the Empire and which bind it together against all disintegrating influences—the qualities of truth, efficiency, thoroughness, hard work, courage, self-sacrifice and unflinching devotion to the Crown and the Empire.

ADDRESS FROM THE INDIAN MINING FEDERATION AT
CALCUTTA.

16th December 1922.

In replying to the above address His Excellency the Viceroy said:—

Gentlemen,—I thank you for your cordial welcome to me and the kind wishes you have conveyed to me and Her Excellency.

Address from the Indian Mining Federation at Calcutta.

I am glad to have been able to receive your deputation, because I, with you, believe that the industry which you represent is the keystone of the industrial and commercial development of this country; and you could not have made your submissions to one who is more interested in the matter than I am. You may rest assured that the industrial development of the country is an interest which I have very close at heart. I welcome your declaration of your realization of responsibility as coal-owners and of a duty to the community and to the future welfare of India inherent in this capacity. Your true intuition of the position will assist you to understand the importance of what I have to say to you to-day and to take the long view as regards the prospects of your industry.

I will speak in the first place of the past. During the war period it was vitally necessary here, as in England, to control to some extent and distribute the output of coal as an asset of first importance, on the careful husbanding of which at that time of dislocation our strength to achieve success in that struggle and to foster the first needs of the country during its continuance depended. This dislocation was followed by a period of inevitable reconstruction when in the interests of the welfare of India some degree of Government regimentation was equally vital. We had to face facts as we found them. By 1920 the demand for coal had increased out of all proportion to the supply. The latter had been affected, as we all know, by the difficulties in transport facilities. There had been a serious but inevitable set-back in railway efficiency and development owing to the impossibility of procuring railway material during the war period. With a demand greatly in excess of supply, Government would have failed in its duty if it had not taken measures by control to place beyond all chance of

Address from the Indian Mining Federation at Calcutta.

jeopardy the supply of coal needed for railways, for other transport in India, for waterworks and electric supply installations, and to some degree for the great industries of national importance. Any Government that had permitted these institutions, so vital to the industry, trade and commerce of India and to the life and health of her people, to break down would have been faced with a very serious charge to which it could have given no answer. I believe your own Federation has consistently admitted that priority in wagon supply should be given to these requirements.

An inevitable result, which I deplore as much as you do, is that after meeting these essential requirements only a small number of wagons remained available to meet the other indents on the coal supply. But you must remember that the method of distribution adopted was the only one which seemed at the time to ensure that there would be less unfairness and that most industries would get the coal they required. Every step taken by Government was openly discussed and canvassed, in accordance with the practice of Government, with the commercial community at Calcutta and at these discussions the representatives of the coal industry were present and were freely consulted.

The position has now temporarily improved; and as you have observed, Government hope to be able to relax the embargo on the export of coal which has been in force for the last $2\frac{1}{2}$ years and are attempting to revert to the system of wagon distribution similar to that in force in 1912 and until the outbreak of war. I understand that your Federation were consulted regarding its introduction and are represented on the Advisory Board appointed to assist the transportation officer in its execution.

Address from the Indian Mining Federation at Calcutta.

Funds have been allotted in the quinquennial railway programme, not only for more siding accommodation, but for provision of adequate facilities in the coal-field area generally which will largely increase the carrying capacity of the railways. You may rest assured that in these schemes the intention is to benefit the existing coal-fields and not to prejudice their interests. At the same time I cannot agree that the development of new collieries should be retarded. I expect and hope for a large and rapid industrial development of India; and our railway improvement programme must be carefully thought out as a whole with an eye not only on the conditions of the moment but on prospective developments as well. More coal means more industries; and more industries using coal mean obviously more demand for coal generally—a factor which is as much to your interest as to those of new mines.

You feel some doubt regarding the ethics of railways owning their collieries. Railways are, I would remind you, a commercial undertaking; and if by owning their own collieries they can get their own coal cheaper, they are entitled to pursue this policy in the interests of their business; and public opinion will endorse the view because the system may mean cheaper working expenses which are of obvious benefit to the trade and industry of India and the people generally.

I sympathise with your desire for concessions in freight and am impressed by your observations. I know that the railway administration realise that, as a general principle, it is to their and the general interest to charge low rates on movements of long distance coal traffic which will result in more industries and

Address from the Indian Mining Federation at Calcutta.

more railway traffic; but they do not feel that conditions at the moment are auspicious for putting this principle into practice. You may rely on a sympathetic consideration of your views on this point when the right time comes.

As regards legislation, I have noted your observations. I cannot say much on this occasion about a measure which is on the anvil and which I shall have to deal with officially in due course. I can promise you, however, that the difference between India and other countries and the interests of mine-owners have not been forgotten. I understand that Mr. N. C. Sircar is closely connected with your Federation, and he is a Member of the Joint Select Committee dealing with the Mine Bill. Through him your Federation will have ample opportunity of placing your views both before the Select Committee and the Legislature prior to the Bill passing into law.

As regards representation in the Legislature, I observe that while mining interests have special representation in the local Legislative Councils of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and the Central Provinces, you are not directly represented on the Central Legislature. The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, however, to which you are affiliated, has a rotational seat in the Legislative Assembly. Your desire for more special representation will be examined when alterations in the franchise again come under consideration.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address and kind wishes. You may rest assured that the development of the coal industry is an interest on which I keep and shall keep a vigilant and sympathetic eye.

DINNER GIVEN BY THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

22nd De-
cember 1922.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta, on the 22nd December :—

Mr. Carr, Your Excellency, Sir Harcourt Butler, and Gentlemen,—I am deeply grateful to you, the Members of this Association, for the cordial welcome you have been good enough to extend to me to-night, and I thank you, Mr. Carr, for the kindness of your utterance as regards myself.

I have listened with the greatest interest to the speech you have delivered to us. It seemed to be characterised by shrewd common-sense, political foresight tempered by prudence—a very necessary adjunct. I am glad to find myself here in Calcutta, and especially to be, as I understand, the first Viceroy who has been entertained by the members of the European Association. In the interests of the successors of the great office I hold I trust that this precedent will be followed, and that when they come to Calcutta invitations will be extended to them, for if they think as I do, Mr. Carr, they will always look forward to their annual visit to Calcutta to seek inspiration by the contemplation of this great city, to remember the military genius and the wise statesmanship that has led to its existence at the present time and, above all, to recall the spirit of merchant adventure which has done so much for Calcutta, makes the city what it is, and has built it up according to the genius of the British people in India, and makes it stand as a monument to British rule in India and also to India herself.

There are other interests and amenities in Calcutta which we do not find elsewhere, and to which I shall not refer this evening. I content myself by saying to you in all sincerity that I think it is of inestimable advantage for the Viceroy of India

Dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.

to be brought into close and intimate contact with the commerce in Calcutta, with its interests of finance, shipping, and trade generally. I am one of those who perhaps from an early training—it may be from subsequent experience—realise to the full the great value to be derived and the stimulus from contact with various centres of thought not confined entirely to that of the Services, with which of course I am in daily and close intimacy. The name of the European Association was familiar to me when I arrived here as one of the planets in the firmament of public organisation. For some time I was in doubt regarding the precise functions of this planetary body. I waited with that quiescent watchfulness of which Mr. Carr has spoken to us to see whether it diffused light and heat, or whether it was almost an extinct volcano fitfully illuminated by the dying fires of past radiance and hastening to its setting. Whatever doubts I may have had have been set at rest by a perusal of the Press during the last few months, and I have learnt that its political life has now placed its future beyond the range of mere speculation, where we are told of considerable activity. Now and henceforth—as I gathered from your observations, Mr. Carr—it will shine forth as a bright light high in the skies, emitting its rays to act as a beacon for those who wish to set their course, and I feel certain that whatever may have characterised it in the past, it will no longer be said that this Association, representative of non-official Europeans in this country, has failed to take its part in the political life of India.

I rejoice at the statement that you have made, and at the activities of which I have read. It can only be for the good of India that this Association should take its part actively in political life. All communities are represented and have their

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associations in India, and I fail to understand why the European Association should not, and under that name, continue to exert its influence. After all, the members of this Association know the responsibilities of Government, and they understand to the full the importance of proceeding to self-government. They know the traditions of Government in our own country and they are also aware that in various parts of the Empire there has been advance stage by stage until eventually the final expression has been reached. As you tell us, this Association will now devote itself to work, not to set back the clock, but to help in the advance, and I rejoice at this movement. You have told us that you have recognised the *fait accompli*. Past is the time when it was of use to discuss whether it would be wise, or whether it would not! It is an accomplished fact—the promises have been made. All political parties in Britain are committed to it. No political party is opposed to it. The present Prime Minister, Mr. Bonar Law, was a member of the Government—the Coalition Government—when the Act of 1919 was introduced. He also at the very outset of his career as Prime Minister made a pronouncement which established beyond all doubt that he intended—as of course all expected who knew him and the Government at Home—to continue the policy laid down and given as a promise to India. He made the observation which is so true and must never be forgotten, that with the promise made to India there is also the demand—and rightly the demand—for the close co-operation of Indians in working the reforms for peace and prosperity.

It may interest you to know, Mr. Carr, that amidst the various activities of my life I have found time to study very carefully the constitution of your Association, and to make

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myself familiar with its aims. I see that it is established to maintain British rights, and then following a course which is not unfamiliar—at least to lawyers—there is an interpretation clause, and that interpretation clause seems to me to embody the very essence and spirit of British administration in India. It is “equal justice and freedom to all individuals”, and you proceed to state that your object is to foster the relationship of cordiality and co-operation with Indians, working constructively for the good of India. What better could any Indians wish? What further could any one ask who is interested in the development of India along the lines mapped out for her? I could carry you further into the constitution, but I always have a horror—now that I have ceased to be a lawyer—of talking like a lawyer and I am in dread lest I should examine too closely the language you have used.

These reforms were unfortunately born in an inauspicious moment. An unfortunate concatenation of circumstances contributed to the reception not being quite as favourable as might naturally have been expected. Far be it from me to discuss these circumstances to-night, and indeed it would be unnecessary because they are familiar to you all. Neither shall I be tempted to indulge in a retrospect of the events that have happened since. I will merely say that immediately upon my arrival—and certainly for some considerable time thereafter—I did find, as I had been told at Home, that there were very difficult times in India. My first year of Viceroyalty was not exactly a bed of roses: indeed, I found many thorns, little bed and I am still looking for the roses. But we have gone through the worst of that critical period. As a Government, we were criticised—quite naturally and legitimately—on the one hand by some who said that we ought to act more

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drastically and more promptly ; on the other there were those who attacked us for pursuing a policy of repression. It is not entirely unknown for Governments to be attacked and I hope they will never be immune from criticism. After all it is the most tempting thing in the world to sit in your club arm-chair and turn to your friend in the evening when you have just read the paper and seen an account of some event—you can't know all the attendant circumstances—and pronounce yourself very emphatically upon it. It is the right of an Englishman. If he really had to master all the facts before he expressed an opinion what a really dull life it would be ! But looking back upon past events and comparing them with the present time, I trust you will agree that we are justified in thinking that the present compares very favourably with that first year of my Viceroyalty. I should like, when I make that observation, to chronicle here my appreciation of all the assistance we as the Government of India received from the Governors of the Presidencies and the Provinces and the Government administrators. We went through some anxious times ; there were moments when we could not be quite sure whether the disturbing rumours were true or false. There were certainly periods of considerable strain, but we pursued our path. We felt it was right to continue to administer the law, to insist upon order whilst having regard to the legitimate susceptibilities of Indians and also to our responsibilities to His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament at Home. But I propose to leave this interesting subject lest it might tempt me to say more. | Whatever your judgment may be upon it, I shall not ask you to express it openly this evening. The verdict will be discussed when you are free from the embarrassing presence of Viceroy and Governors and persons of that description. Racial animosity during all that period was very prevalent. It was

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stimulated by misrepresentation. It was instigated in many instances by a desire to do mischief, and it had unfortunately considerable success. But here again, from the reports to me from the various provinces and from our officials throughout the country, I am justified in saying that that racial hostility is no longer as acute as it was, that the tendency is for it day by day to diminish, I hope eventually only to be remembered in history.

Racial animosity brings me to the subject to which you referred, Mr. Carr, the Racial Distinctions Committee. I wish I had been in a position to-night to speak more freely to you, and that I had been untrammelled by the necessity for official reticence but there are still matters under discussion between the Secretary of State and ourselves, there are still one or two questions to be settled, and therefore I must not say more to you to-night than that I hope that within a very short period you will be in a position to know all that has happened. I am not sure that a number of you do not know it already. Some who were present and perhaps some who were not; you, Mr. Carr, have spoken to-night so justifiably of the work done on that Committee, and I noticed recently at one of the meetings of the Association you referred in greater detail to what had happened, not of course disclosing any secrets, but telling us of the excellent spirit displayed at that Committee by both British and Indian. Looking back to the history of recent years I know of no better augury for the future than the contemplation of those trusted members of both communities of British and Indian meeting together for the purpose of determining as they hope finally a controversy which has raged for so many years and has led in the past to so much bitterness. There they met calmly, deliberately, temperately;

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they sat to arrive at a result which would end the dispute whilst preserving all the essentials of justice to both communities. I do not know whether after the feast to which we have been entertained your minds are sufficiently imaginative to picture what might have happened at this meeting in discussing a subject that so easily and so quickly generated incandescent heat, where the material was so combustive and the explosion might so quickly happen with a consequent conflagration that would be disastrous. But instead there was just the necessary spirit animating you and your Indian colleagues, there was a desire above all things to do right, to see the other's point of view, whilst preserving very carefully your own ; to take care to give everything you could give whilst at the same time ensuring that your essential rights were maintained. That was the right spirit : indeed, it was the really patriotic spirit, and I am glad to express my high appreciation of the work performed by the members of that Committee, both British and Indian. Although it may be invidious to mention names I hope I may be forgiven if I follow a precedent set by no less a person than yourself, Mr. Carr, by recalling the services of Mr. Carey in this connection and the great work he accomplished.

There was no passage in your speech which so interested me, and was so striking, as your reference to the Services. I know the difficulties—none better—as ever since I have been here I have been familiar with this question—a very burning question—of Indianisation on the one hand and maintaining the rights of the Services on the other. It is not perhaps the most appropriate occasion to discuss this question in any detail, but I say for myself that I agree entirely with the observations made by you, Mr. Carr, regarding the need for recruitment of the young entrant at Home into the Civil Service. I am not

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quite sure how the notion was spread, and it is immaterial for this purpose, that the Government of India was opposed to this recruitment at Home. On the contrary I cannot myself conceive that any one at this moment would come to that conclusion, and although I am not entitled to express the views of those who so loyally serve with me on the Council, I am at least certain that they have never committed themselves to any such idea as appears, or did appear at one time, to be prevalent. The recruitment of the Services was one of the first questions that met me upon my arrival in India. I remember that almost within ten days of landing I was met with this difficulty and had to consider how best to enquire into the conditions and devise a remedy.

Sir, you spoke of guarantees that might be required by those who enter the Services. Well, these are not guarantees required from the Government here ; as I understand the desire is for some form of guarantee from the Home Government. I do not know. I do not hesitate to express the view I have expressed before, and have held ever since I have been here, that whilst I do not believe that a Government of India such as I can imagine formed in the future, when it had the fullest possible measure of responsible self-government, would act unfairly in relation to the pay and pensions of those who were in the Civil Service ; yet I can understand the apprehensions of those whose all is embarked in the prospect of the future payment both of emoluments and of pensions. I can appreciate the position of the man who having been 25 or 30 years in India is in anxiety as to what will happen to him. He cannot take risks : he cannot afford it ; he and his family depend upon these payments, and I shall be glad if means can be found of securing adequate protection to him, so that this apprehension

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may disappear and that he may feel comfortable and safe for the future.

You have spoken very kindly of the strain upon the Viceroy, and you have expressed yourself in terms, Mr. Carr, which I duly admire and I shall cherish. The comparison always presents itself to me, steeped as I am in the traditions of Government at Home based upon parliamentary majorities, of the position of the Viceroy and his Government in India. I find myself in the difficulty, as perhaps may also have occurred to Lord Lytton and possibly to Sir Harcourt Butler, of being the head of a Government which is always in a minority in the Legislature unless the Government can manage to persuade the members to support it. I shall not dilate upon the difference in the position at Home, but it makes ours at the head of Government much more difficult than under the former system. We have not the advantages of whips, who ascertain the feeling of members and duly report ; neither can we resort to various devices used for the purpose of persuading those who otherwise might be recalcitrant. But we remain watchful, hoping that members will vote as we wish, and if not, as is sometimes the case, we must then determine the course we should pursue and perhaps sometimes the most difficult problem is whether we should pursue any course at all. We have indulged in an experiment recently in the Government of India, which I hope will help us to some extent, by the appointment of Standing Committees. The Departments will thus be brought much more closely in contact with the members of the Legislature selected for the Committee ; they will know the proposals and the Government Departments—the Member in charge—will become aware of the opinion of the Legislature. We shall watch this experiment with the greatest interest.

Address of Welcome from the Bengal Landholders' Association.

When you spoke of the strain upon me as Viceroy, you referred, Mr. Carr, to the circumstances of my leaving England to come here. I have expressed my views before, but I repeat that I know no prouder moment for any man than when he is asked to serve his country in whatever part of the world may be selected for him, to take up duties, to strive for the benefit of the Empire. He has his reward, the best reward, whether success attend him or not, in the consciousness that he has done what he believes to be his supreme duty by accepting the offer and doing his utmost in whatever position he may fill.

I know not what the future may bring. I cannot picture to myself what the end will be when I leave India, whenever that may be. I shall not have a series of dinners and a collection of statues erected to me as to Sir Harcourt Butler. But I do know that if at the end of my period when I come to lay down my task and return to my home, if it is thought in India that I have contributed to securing by however small a step the peace and the prosperity of India, and if I learn that the European Association thinks that I have done some good in the cause of India within the Empire, then I shall be better pleased than by the erection of monuments or any tribute that may be paid to me.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BENGAL LANDHOLDERS'
ASSOCIATION.

23rd De-
cember 1922.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address from the Bengal Landholders' Association at "Belvedere", Calcutta, on the 23rd December, and made the following reply:—

Gentlemen,—I am glad to be able to receive you to-day and thank you most cordially for your address of welcome and

Address of Welcome from the Bengal Landholders' Association.

the kind wishes you have conveyed to me and to Her Excellency.

As representatives of the landholders of Bengal you rightly dwell on the important place you occupy among the subjects of His Majesty in British India. This position you derive from two factors. In the first place in the past the realisation by you of your responsibilities as members of the cultured and wealthy classes has placed you in the forefront of those on whose consistent loyalty and help the British Government has been accustomed to rely in difficult periods of special perplexities and dangers. In the second place in the every-day task of administration the officers of Government have been able to turn to you with the certainty of enlisting your interest in all measures intended to promote the prosperity and well-being of the people of India ; they could seek from you sympathetic advice and understanding counsel in the problems confronting them : For your interests were bound up with the soil ; and in a special way this connection of possession fosters and stimulates a spirit of enthusiasm for the fortunes of your country ; and in addition your daily business and avocations closely associate you with the cultivators of the soil with that section of the people of India who live by agriculture and who number in their ranks the major portion of Indian society.

You may rest assured that I realise the great services rendered by your class in the past and that I look to the maintenance of close and cordial relations with those who have played so prominent a part in the past history of this province. You may feel confidence that your rights will not be disregarded and that your aims and aspirations will command sympathetic consideration at all times.

Address of Welcome from the Bengal Landholders' Association.

I welcome your assurance that you desire to see India advance, safely but surely, in the path of progress and to attain the place, to which her past history entitles her, in the Commonwealth of the great British Empire.

I note with appreciation your wish to give assistance in all measures designed to benefit and uplift her people and to maintain law and order as she travels upon that road. I look to you to make a wholesome exercise of your great influence and position in educating the agricultural electorate and helping them to fit themselves to share in the development of responsible institutions. It is a noble task which lies before you—more difficult perhaps and demanding more patience than any you have yet attempted ; but the aim in view is well worth the labour involved. In offering you encouragement to pursue this task I am not unmindful that from one quarter an attack has been made on your rights and position. There have been threats not only to destroy by means of illegal conspiracies all vested interests and titles in land, but to overthrow by revolutionary methods law and order, established government and the whole fabric of present civilization in India. I give you the clearest assurance that if a mischievous campaign of this kind takes definite shape, you may rely on Government to afford you the fullest support of the law in combating it. I am not apprehensive as to the future ; and I look forward to the day when, as a result of your steady co-operation and goodwill, the vast rural population of this country, conscious of an identity of purpose between landlords and cultivators, and with the interests of the agricultural section of society and of India as a whole before them will be taking an important part with wisdom and moderation in the government of their country.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address and kind wishes.

8th January
1923.

OPENING OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF
THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE OF INDIA
AND CEYLON.

His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the fourth Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon at Calcutta on the 8th January made the following speech :—

Sir Campbell Rhodes, Your Excellency, and Gentlemen,—It is my good fortune to begin my part in the proceedings by taking the opportunity of congratulating Sir Campbell Rhodes upon the honour His Majesty has graciously conferred upon him in recognition of the public spirit he has manifested and the public services he has rendered to India. I am sure it is a pleasure to those associated with him and to all those who know him, and I have gladly heard the satisfaction generally expressed at the public acknowledgment of Sir Campbell's merits. Whatever comment or criticism may be passed upon the observations I make to you to-day, I feel sure that in my initial observations regarding your President there will be complete accord.

Please accept my very hearty thanks for the welcome kindly given to me. I regard it as of special value that I should be here to-day and have been able to meet so many of those who are engaged in the business not only of this great city but of this great country. I trust that my stay in this city has been of benefit to me in the public position I occupy. Will you permit me to add, as I am leaving Calcutta to-night, on behalf both of Her Excellency and myself that we have most thoroughly enjoyed the time we have spent here in Calcutta.

You referred, Sir Campbell, to my remaining here for the purpose of attending this meeting. It is difficult for the Viceroy to be away from the seat of Government after the turn

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of the year ; but I gladly consented because it gave me the opportunity, which I felt I should not miss, of meeting those here assembled, and in order to appease my conscience may I also whisper confidently that I was glad of the opportunity, it gave me of extending my visit for a few days. At all times, as you so well pointed out, the problems that come before your Association for consideration must include some of the most momentous to the prosperity of India. I and my Government are fully conscious of the weight that should be attributed to the views of those engaged in business in relation to all matters affecting commerce and industry, and you may rest assured that we shall always give careful consideration to representations which this important Association may make, composed as it is of representatives from all parts of India, and expressing the opinions not merely of one Chamber but of the Associated Chambers.

You, Sir Campbell, are presiding over the deliberations of your delegates. I am here to open the proceedings. The subjects mentioned by you for discussion are mainly problems coming before the Central Legislature during the next few weeks. Those referred to by you are of the greatest importance to the future of India and demand the careful consideration not only of myself and my Government but also of all individual members of the Legislature as well as all those who are occupied in bringing thought and intelligence to bear upon these complex problems. You, Sir Campbell, have referred humorously, and evidently with enjoyment, to the fate in store for your two former colleagues on the Fiscal Commission. I observed them both when you made your references and I was interested to see how the pleasure depicted in your countenance

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was omitted from those of your two distinguished colleagues. But I found myself envious of you when I listened to you. The free and detached position which you occupy at this moment enabled you to make such remarks as you thought fit, remembering that you were President, and that you are able to sit quietly here and watch your two former colleagues in the struggles in which they are about to be engaged. I reflected that the position of a Viceroy in these days is more difficult. He has a Legislature just about to meet in which these very difficult problems will come for discussion. He has His Majesty's Government to consult, with which of course he must discuss many of these problems, and so perhaps you will not be surprised by my envying the position you at present occupy, to which you have yourself given expression.

I wish I could take part in your deliberations and could express myself with the freedom of a President who has already put into writing with his colleagues the conclusions at which he has arrived.

I shall watch with the greatest interest the report of your discussions. The recommendation now made that duties should be imposed not merely for revenue purposes—the hitherto accepted fiscal policy of India—but with the object of fostering and protecting industries—a new departure for India—deserves all the attention of the mercantile community as well as the public. The President and Members of the Commission were entrusted with a highly responsible and difficult task. A study of their report shows that they have devoted considerable thought and study to the investigation of the complex problems presented to them. Whether individually you agree with their conclusions or not, we must all be grateful to them

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for their devotion to the public interest. The position is complicated by the financial conditions of the country which must always in this respect be kept in mind. Heavier duties have been imposed in recent years for the purpose of approximating revenue to expenditure. Whatever may happen, whatever decision may be reached regarding the recommendations of the Commission, the Government on whom the ultimate responsibility will always rest must take into account the revenue needs of the country. In truth, this is merely stating what must be self-evident to all who give thought to the subject and is embranced in the general fundamental principle that regard must be had by the responsible authorities to the general welfare of the community and must not unduly favour one section of it. It should not protect one industry to the disadvantage of the rest of the community. That I gather has been fully recognised by the Commission. We must be careful that the general desire for the industrial development of India commensurate with its large population and natural resources does not lead to action that may eventually retard instead of advancing the prosperity of the country. There can be no diversity of view in this respect. We are all aiming at the same goal—the development of the industrial prosperity of India—but we may not all agree upon the measures to be adopted for this purpose. Whatever may be the individual views, it will not be disputed that if new sources of wealth can be created it will encourage the development of national life and national character: but this only if the development is based upon the general welfare of the community. That must always be the supreme test. I refrain from further discussion upon this most interesting subject, which should be approached with the desire to judge its effect upon India and

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the prosperity of its people. It should not be decided by preconceived views regarding the relative advantages of free trade and protection but by consideration of the relative advantages and disadvantages to India of a change in her fiscal policy. The eventual responsibility for the fiscal policy of this country, and of the various steps that may have to be taken, must rest upon the executive authorities. It is with the Government of India that the final responsibility of determining these questions in India must eventually remain. There are of course questions which will have to be considered in the Legislature, and obviously some matters will have to be discussed with the Home Government. Whether a Tariff Board is appointed or not, or whether some other means may be adopted of investigating and arriving at conclusions, the burden must ultimately rest upon those at the head of Government here, I mean that the Government cannot delegate its functions to Boards. I do not suggest there is any real divergence between the views I have expressed and the Report of the Commission. Indeed, I think that the conclusions are much the same, and that when considering the application of recommendations in their bearing upon the revenues of the country—very important at this particular moment—there should be then an examination—and it necessarily must take place—by the Government for the purpose of testing the effect of the recommendations upon production of revenue. I do not wish to enter further into this subject at this moment except to say that I cannot but think, as at present advised, that the advantage would always be in favour of one enquiry instead of the addition of another enquiry following the first. What seems to me essential

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is that when these matters are considered, an investigation should be made into an industry for the purpose of considering whether it would be wise in the interests of the country generally to impose a tariff in regard to that industry for the purpose of protection. I cannot but think that it would be desirable that the Government should itself take some part in that enquiry in order to consider the effect upon revenue, and whether the financial condition of the country would be seriously prejudiced—as it might be—by the proposed recommendations. Of course all these are matters for further discussion, and I am certainly not expressing any final opinion. What impresses me, looking merely at the recommendations of the Commission, is that the imposition of tariffs for the protection of particular industries carries with it certain attendant consequences—sometimes productive of good and sometimes productive of evil. I can well imagine, for example, from the experience of other countries, that there might be great propaganda for the purpose of aiding a particular industry. Again I can well imagine that if a Board was appointed, and that Board came to its conclusions and made its recommendations of a tariff in regard to a particular industry, the Government would have then to make up its mind whether it could adopt those recommendations. I can quite well conceive that the opportunity would then be taken for the purpose of developing propaganda in the interests of the industry to be protected, and there would be a desire to force the hands of Government. What I wish to bring to your minds—as you are considering this subject among others—is that it would be desirable that there should be no such interval, and that whatever the tribunal may be when the recommendation is made, there should be the shortest

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possible interval between the recommendation of the tribunal and the decision of the Government. Those are matters which I daresay will have occurred to you, and upon which you may have come to conclusions. My mind is quite open and I wish anything I have said to be taken only as a view formed at present. But in connection with the Fiscal Commission financial considerations must necessarily arise. India has during the last five years had to meet deficits. Whilst I hold necessarily strong views as to the need for the balancing of our revenue and expenditure, and all possible steps are being taken in that direction, we should not unduly exaggerate the seriousness of the situation, which has existed during the last few years. We must remember the effects of the war, and also it is not unuseful to compare our own position with that of other countries. This is not the moment at which I should take time by pointing out the advantages enjoyed by India, but I would draw your attention to this, that whereas obviously we must do our utmost to restore equilibrium in finance, equally we must not tip the scale by unduly dwelling upon the financial condition and exaggerating, as sometimes is done, the fears for the future. Of course, if a country continues for a number of years in deficit, there can be no doubt of the end. This is a very critical period in international trade and it does not require words to emphasise the situation at present in India. Obviously trade is hampered, paralysed, crippled by conditions abroad which have ensued consequent upon the war with the result that many markets are closed which formerly we were in the habit of supplying. We must try to reduce expenditure.

Lord Inchcape, whose public spirit is so well illustrated by

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the duties he is now performing as Chairman of the Retrenchment Committee, is assisted by those specially selected to fill very responsible positions. I am not surprised that their labours will last perhaps longer than some had originally anticipated. But the Government of India, ever since the last Budget, have been doing their utmost to economise in the general administration, and I need not say that we are glad to be able to give all possible assistance to Lord Inchcape's Committee and that we shall look forward to his recommendations. Whilst speaking of finance I take this opportunity of welcoming Sir Basil Blackett to India. He has just arrived to take up the duties Sir Malcolm Hailey so faithfully discharged until he became Home Member. I first met Sir Basil at the beginning of the war when I was at the Treasury in London. He has served with me on each of the four occasions of my visits to the United States, and I therefore know him and his capacities. He has had a rare experience of finance during the war both in England and in the United States. The high position he recently filled at the Treasury is the best proof of the public appreciation of his services. I am glad that he has come to India to give us the benefit of his knowledge and experience which has the advantage of being both practical and theoretical, and I look forward to his assistance as one of my colleagues in my Council.

I cannot to-day dwell—neither is it needful—upon the vast importance of currency and exchange questions to India.

You, Sir Campbell, have called attention to the rupee and what it has done for itself. It very often happens that if these matters are left to the operation of the ordinary conditions of commerce they arrive at their own solution and often find a

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more stable basis than when outside influences are brought to bear upon them.

May I just say one brief word regarding railways. The question of the management of railways must come for decision within a very brief period. Much has been written about it; there has been a most careful enquiry, as you are well aware, and the result has been an equal division of opinion on the Commission. Conclusions must be reached after studying the arguments of both sides in this controversy. May I just make one observation. The railway management question in India should be approached from a different standpoint to that prevailing, for example, in England, and some other countries. For in India you are not faced with the problem of determining whether or not a new principle shall be introduced—that of State ownership and State management of the railways. That is already in existence in India, where a large portion of the railway system is both owned and managed by the State; so that the principle is already established—although that does not make the present question easy of solution. The problem now is whether that system of State management should be extended in regard to the railways which are owned or largely owned by the Government or whether the management should remain with the companies. I shall watch with the greatest interest the reports of your discussions. There I must leave the subject to-day and not express my own opinion until later.

May I now pass to a very brief review of the general economic condition of India at this moment. It has of course an important bearing upon your deliberations and upon the future of India. It is more hopeful. Crops are good. Unlike last year the balance of trade is now in India's favour.

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Export trade is better and offers promise ; tea has had a remarkable revival ; the outlook for the jute mills is more promising. While these are satisfactory features, we must remember that in the world generally owing to economic unsettlement trade remains dull and cautious, and the future is uncertain. Industries in India are not feeling any real stimulus to activity. There has been a recent fall in the prices which Indian cotton mills can get for their goods. Other features of importance are a slow but steady decline in the price of food-grains and in the cost of living. The fall in the latter during the last year in Bombay is estimated to amount to 17 per cent.

No one has greater desire than I have to see industrial development in India ; and I hope that I may persuade others to share in my confidence that it is possible. I would welcome and assist every measure calculated to give it real encouragement ; but it must be development of the right kind and in this I know that you will be in complete accord with me. The last ten years have shown a very marked expansion in the diversity of kinds of industry attempted in India. The total volume of the results of this expansion may not be very great ; but many new types of industries have been started. This is to the good. There is also the growth of a widespread belief in the efficacy of industrial development to raise economic standards in India and to some extent to help her financial position. There is a desire to hasten this development. I welcome and commend such aspirations. At the same time you know as I know that this panacea is not so simple of attainment as may at first appear. Industries bring their own problems. Patience and continued effort and the lessons of experience can alone bring them to success. If there is to be expansion, there must also

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be increased attention to the conditions under which labour lives and has to work. The favourable reception which the principles underlying the Workmen's Compensation Act have met shows recognition of the need for legislation to keep pace with changing conditions. Many of you, gentlemen, are associated with industries. You will bear me out when I say that if we are to have a period of industrial expansion, an especially heavy responsibility will lie during that time on the directors of companies. It will not be an easy period. All industries are subject both to periods of unusual prosperity and also normally must expect periods of unexpected depression. Directors concerned in the expansion of industry are faced with this factor of fluctuation. It is one to which they must accustom their shareholders if they are to retain their confidence. For successful industry does not depend on the size of dividends distributed over a short period, but on the first establishment of a concern on a basis which is able to resist the bullets of temporary periods of depression ; and in this establishment the directors and shareholders' interests are and should be the same. These may be fundamental truths and are well known to the members here assembled, but nevertheless they are of supreme importance in the expansion and development of industries and it is well that they should be emphasised.

There is one subject to which I would very briefly draw your attention, and would invite if you find it possible, some expression of opinion from your association. It is an elementary truth that justice long delayed is often justice denied, and I have been impressed by the long delays, not only in arriving at a decision of the court but also, and sometimes more seriously, in the enforcement of its decrees. I am considering with

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the assistance of those best able to advise me the steps that should be taken for the purpose of expediting and facilitating the recovery of debts and the enforcement of rights in our courts of law. I trust that it will not be thought that I am reflecting in any way upon the administration of justice in India. Nothing is further from my thoughts. I am considering the system and its effect not only upon the commercial community, but upon the public generally. It may not be and is, I understand, not a matter of complaint in Calcutta, but I am speaking of all India and to delegates from all parts of India, and I should therefore especially value your opinions. I have been particularly impressed with the difficulties experienced in the country, in enforcing the judgments obtained from the courts—difficulties which are surprising, and indeed I think I should be justified in using stronger language. I understand the special difficulties that occur in this country by reason of complications arising from laws and customs of particular communities and make every allowance for them. Nevertheless, I cannot but think that justice demands imperatively that a remedy should be found for a condition of things which according to the reports before me produces great hardship and sometimes serious injustice.

I pass now to the desire of your Association for more extensive representation of your interests in the Indian Legislature. It is very natural. You not unnaturally feel that you have a claim to take your part in the important matters under discussion in the Legislative Assembly, and that your views and experience would be of service to the country, deserve ventilation and would carry weight. I note that you

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have addressed my Government and that the matter is still under their consideration.

The original scheme of representation and franchise was framed, as you are aware, after a very careful enquiry and represented a delicate adjustment of numerous claims. It took effect before I came to India and the resulting position, as I understand it, is as follows :—

European commerce as such has a definite representation in the Council of State where the Bengal, Bombay and Burma Chambers of Commerce each have one seat. Purely Indian commerce, on the other hand, is not specifically represented in that Chamber, but has representation in the Legislative Assembly.

The scheme of representation in the latter Chamber, however, was framed mainly on territorial lines and is the result of an attempt to balance the claims of one province against another; so while the European community in various Provinces has representation, for example, the Bengal European community has three seats, the Bombay European community two seats and the United Provinces, Madras and Burma Europeans, one seat each, respectively, there are no general seats representing specific interests outside the Provinces. To this extent the acceptance of your proposal would appear to create an innovation and be a deviation from the principle underlying the original scheme. It would also mean, as you are at present constituted (though I believe there is nothing in your Articles of Association to preclude the election of purely Indian Chambers to your Association), a probable increase in the European vote. Your proposal is accordingly not without its difficulties.

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In spite of these difficulties your aspirations will receive the most careful consideration, not only on their intrinsic and individual merits but because of the larger principle involved.

For is this not a sign that you have realised the great importance of politics to those interested, as you are, in commerce? To my mind the world cannot stand aside and leave entirely to others the responsibilities of political administration and this is especially the case in India. The days have passed when you could afford to be inactive. Your interests in this country are too important. Must not the tendency increasingly be for the policy of Government to act and react in such interests? However desirous Government may be not to interfere directly with trade and commerce, the inevitable result of its action must be to affect all great interests, often perhaps only indirectly, but always in important ways. I need only mention finance and tariff policy as obvious instances affecting you. Government has heavy responsibilities towards trade. It has a right to ask you to share them, to call on you to help with advice and to lend expert knowledge; and you have a right to aspire to join in the task of moulding policy. I and my Government, I feel confident, may rely on your sustained interest and sympathy in the problems before us: we may count on your assistance and support. I need hardly remind you that confidence in the administration and faith in the political future of a country are essential to all commercial well being. Without such trust trade cannot flourish, nor can the country progress.

The interests of India in particular demand that there should be confidence in the internal situation; that within and without India there should be an atmosphere of trust that all is well

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with India ; that India is stable ; that India is marching steadily step by step constitutionally and peacefully to a more complete expression of herself, to more assured prosperity, to a higher civilisation to her ultimate goal of self-government and to a greater place in the Empire and the World.

At such a time those who have India's interests at heart, those who love her, cannot but deeply deplore the unfortunate resolutions recorded at Gaya.

I shall not dwell on them for I do not believe that in these resolutions I hear even a faint echo of the real voice of India or of those who serve her truly. I will not attach too great importance to these threats. A vigilant watch will, however, be kept on these preparations and I can give you assurance that my Government will use all its resources to combat and quell the forces of disorder should they become manifest. I know that if there should be need, I can look with confidence to the support of all responsible opinion in this task.

And as I see the members of these various Chambers of Commerce assembled, the reflection occurs which came to me recently on another occasion. I cannot exactly analyse the reason—neither is it material—but I find it difficult to address a number of those who are so concerned in the future of India, who have so much responsibility in their individual hands for the development of the prosperity of India, without asking them to travel with me for one moment to higher flights of imagination, to look into the future, to strive to picture India as she will be. I see her not as an India with representations of different communities, not an India where the Hindu community shall be striving for its own interest only, or the

Farewell Dinner to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi.

Muhammadan community attempting to obtain some special interest for itself, or the Europeans considering the interests for the moment of their own community, but an India of all communities, of all classes in which the Hindu, the Muhammadan, the European and every other class, race, and creed, shall join and endeavour to make India a great India and to give her higher place in the future history of the World, when every man will be doing his utmost for the country in which he has been born or his interests are involved ; so that all may concentrate their attention upon the one ultimate goal. But however divergent our individual interests may be—the national interests must be the same—the interests of all communities regarding the future of the country should be identical, and will, I trust, become identical. It is looking ahead in India to the obliteration of those distinctions which necessarily rule at the present moment, when she shall have worked further along the road to her ultimate destiny ; and I trust we shall find this harmonious co-operation, which must inevitably lift India high in her material prosperity and in her position in the Councils of the Empire and the World.

FAREWELL DINNER TO SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU AT *16th January*
VICEREGAL LODGE, DELHI. *1923.*

His Excellency the Viceroy gave a Farewell Dinner to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at Viceregal Lodge on the 16th of January, and in proposing his health said :—

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are here to-night to do honour to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and to wish him health and happiness in the future. I am not here to pronounce a farewell oration because I look forward to seeing
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Farewell Dinner to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi.

Dr. Sapru (to use a more familiar mode of address) on I hope many occasions in Delhi, where he will always be received with the utmost pleasure by myself and also, I am sure, by my colleagues in the Government and his numerous friends. I don't know whether he will come here often; probably there will be too many requisitioning his services elsewhere, and he will in the Courts think perhaps of the cloistered seclusion of the Executive Council meetings in which he passed so much of his time and will enjoy to the utmost the more unrestricted domain into which he will have entered. We desire—and I am sure I am speaking for all who have come into close contact with him both here and outside—to testify to him the respect, the esteem, the admiration and—may I say, and I think with justice—the affection with which they regard him.

Before I came to India I had heard of Dr. Sapru, and I recall my first meeting with him. I do not pause to discuss the reason, perhaps it may be that we had spent great parts of our lives in the practice of the same profession, that led us very promptly to understand each other. During the year and nine months in which I have had the assistance of Sir Tej and gauged the value attributable to his co-operation I learnt to appreciate him to the full. I must not say all that I think: that is a luxury which no Viceroy can indulge in; but I shall express some thoughts in the few moments in which I shall keep you before drinking his health. What struck me especially about him was the calm judgment, the sanity and wisdom of his advice, his devotion to the cause of the people of India, and to the India he loves, his patriotic desire to serve her and in a marked degree his loyalty to the King-Emperor. He has served in many capacities. As Law Member it was his duty to advise the Government of India, and I enjoyed from

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the moment I presided at the Council the luxury of taking the counsel of a distinguished lawyer, and of realising that the responsibility of pronouncing the legal opinion rested with him, the Law Member. When I wished a section of a statute interpreted, whatever my own views may have been (and I could not help forming them from long habit) and called upon him, I always found that he brought shrewd perception, keen insight and erudite knowledge to the problem. Of him in this position, which has been filled by many eminent men, it may truly be said that he acted according to the highest traditions of that honourable office. It is not an office which in itself, and by itself, attracts the most popular favour. There is little administration to be done; much of the work is done quietly in a room and therefore, in this respect, he has never felt the wild gale that sometimes blows in favour of him whose action attracts temporary popular favour. Equally he has not had to suffer the wild gales that may sometimes overwhelm a former general idol; he has been content to perform his duty quietly, conscientiously and excellently. But it is more in the wider domain of the political field that he will be judged. It is in the duties he discharged as a Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council with the responsibilities of stating his views, taking part in the deliberations, assisting in forming conclusions and doing the hardest of all work (as I believe Lord Morley once described it) "to come to a decision". In that respect (I cannot give away the secrets of Council: those must remain with us) I speak for myself and my colleagues when I say that we are grateful to him for the assistance he has given us and that we recognise to the full the wisdom and impartiality that he brought to bear upon the problems. He was singularly free from either communal or

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racial bias, he brought to the study of the problems complete honesty of purpose, fixed determination to give the best that was in him to keep the scales well-balanced to deal with every question regardless whether it directly affected Indian or British, and yet an outstanding feature throughout his career were his loyalty and devotion to the cause of India.

I will not refer to the various committees on which he laboured with such conspicuous success in elucidating and solving various questions submitted to him ; he displayed the same characteristics and I may add he showed the capacity of wise and tactful handling of men and led them to understand that there were two sides to the problem, and that before arriving at a conclusion they should ponder well that side which was probably new to them.

But one day he came to me at Simla and the recollection of our conversation gives me a feeling of considerable relief when I gaze upon him this evening ; you may wonder why ? I might be misunderstood if I didn't tell you. I do not suppose he knows. There had been times at Simla when I was rather troubled about him. I could see that he was not well. I heard from his friends who were anxious about him. There were those who were pressing him early in the Simla season to renounce his work because the altitude of the hill-tops of Simla was adversely affecting his condition of health. He told me he had been advised that he must not stay at Simla again and that consequently he felt bound to resign his position as Member of my Council. I heard this with great regret, but I realised that it would be unfair to press him to stay. May I say that I felt that if I had pressed him and had shown him that it was necessary to remain for the public good, I know enough

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of him to be convinced that notwithstanding the difficulties he might have experienced in health he would have acquiesced and acquiesced gladly. That is my conception of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. But I refrained because of my anxiety that he should not endanger his health ; and he added " I must go but above all things I do not wish to embarrass you or the Government, and I leave it to you to determine the moment I can leave with least inconvenience to you " and thus he remained with us until I judged the change should be made. I felt relieved to-night because I saw him so much better evidently enjoying the air of Allahabad finding it refreshing, looking well, feeling well and I trust that that condition will long continue.

I shall not detain you longer. Although we are met for a purpose it is not a formal evening. It is more an informal gathering of those associated with Sir Tej in Government who are delighted to have the pleasure of meeting him again. One word with regard to myself personally. I do not pause to analyse the cause, I may conjecture, I may surmise, but I could not express a definite opinion till I had considered more carefully (there you see speaks the former Judge !) but I know that in some mysterious way, perhaps because of community of profession, perhaps because of similarity of mental attitude to some problems that to-day confront most Governments there radiated from each to the other a sympathetic understanding, I discerned in him a set firm purpose to do his utmost regardless of self with the object of serving his country and his country's cause ; it is his ideal aim and if in the end it is judged that he has deserved well of his country and done her service, has contributed to her benefit, he will

Address of Welcome from the Ajmer Municipality.

feel that he has not lived in vain. It is for this reason that I am convinced that although we as the Government of India have now lost the benefit of his assistance there are still great possibilities for him in the future. These are not for me to attempt at this moment to gauge. I am sure he has won the confidence of the majority of the people, that they have understood him and have appreciated the services he has rendered. I ask you to join with me in drinking his health, and in wishing him health and happiness and that he may have a long life to devote to the public welfare.

26th January 1923.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE AJMER MUNICIPALITY.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading, accompanied by their staff, paid a brief week-end visit to Ajmer and Jodhpur. In replying to the Address from the Ajmer Municipality His Excellency said :—

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Municipal Committee, Ajmer,—On behalf of Her Excellency and myself I thank you warmly for your cordial welcome. We have long looked forward to visiting your beautiful city and we feel sure that we shall not be disappointed in the interest and charm which it has in store for us. As the capital of the last Hindu Empire in Northern India and as a favourite residence of the Moghal Emperors in later times, Ajmer has historical associations of special importance. The ancient fame of Ajmer and its present position as a centre of British administration in Rajputana need no higher testimony than the fact that this city was specially selected for a visit by Her Majesty the Queen-Empress in 1911 and again last year by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Address of Welcome from the Ajmer Municipality.

I am glad to learn that you maintain in this city a firm tradition of loyalty in full measure. I am confident with you that by mutual co-operation and by peaceful and steady progress India will attain the goal of responsible government within the Empire to which we all look forward.

You have taken me into your confidence regarding your local problems and difficulties. I have heard with regret of your serious situation as regards water-supply and your needs for improved conservancy. Most Local Governments and local bodies, at the present time, are suffering, like you, from the rise in the cost of materials and establishments since the war. We have reason to hope that these economic difficulties are disappearing and that slowly but surely the future is giving better promise. I learn that you contemplate the imposition of additional taxation to meet your responsibilities for public necessities and amenities; and though I cannot of course at this stage say anything as regards the decision my Government may arrive at on consideration of your proposals, I can promise that your request for a loan to improve the water-supply will receive careful and earnest examination, more particularly if you can show that you are utilizing to the full all possible sources of local revenue.

I accept with great pleasure your invitation to lay the foundation stone of the Victoria Hospital on the new site. Fresh air and peaceful surroundings are of vital importance for the proper treatment of the ailing; and you are right to provide these benefits for suffering humanity amid the spacious gardens which are an ornament to your city. I congratulate you on the support which your beneficent scheme has secured and I am glad to learn of the generous benefactions from the Udaipur

Address of Welcome from the Mayo College.

and Jaipur Durbars and from private individuals which have made the scheme possible. I am glad to be associated with it through this ceremony.

I thank you again for your kind welcome and wish your city all prosperity and well-being.

26th Janu-
ary 1923.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MAYO COLLEGE.

In reply to the Address of Welcome from the Mayo College His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highnesses, Mr. Leslie-Jones, boys of the Mayo College, ladies and gentlemen,—I thank you for the kind welcome extended to Her Excellency and myself, and assure you that it is a great pleasure to us to visit the Mayo College.

In his address the Principal has outlined the original objects for which the College was founded and the more extended aims of its later development. Rajputana and many Indian States beyond its boundaries owe a very great debt of gratitude to the generosity of the Ruling Princes and others who contributed towards the foundation and endowment of the Mayo College. In spite of its comparative youth the Mayo College can point to a long series of successes, and its traditions and healthy spirit have, I am sure, afforded inspiration to many lives. The ideals at which the College aims have had an influence far beyond the boundaries of the College itself. The standard of character and conduct, which it is its pride to inculcate and observe, act as an example and a strengthening force to many others than

Address of Welcome from the Mayo College.

those who actually study here. May these influences gain in vitality and expand with the increasing years.

I am informed that in recent years the financial condition of the College has given cause for serious anxiety, and that it has been necessary to diminish expenditure in many directions and also to take measures for increasing the income. I am glad to learn that the efforts of the Managing Committee have met with success and have restored financial equilibrium for the time being at all events. The income from fees has considerably increased and it is evident that very earnest efforts have been made to strengthen the financial position.

Environment is an important factor in education ; and amidst these beautiful surroundings boys who come to the Mayo College live their school life with every advantage. To them my advice is constantly to bear in mind the honour and good name of the College and the great traditions of Rajput chivalry and loyalty which is their heritage. Let them endeavour to emulate the nobility of character of their ancestors, whose names are still household words in Rajputana. India of to-day offers great opportunities for men of worth and character, and the boys of the Mayo College, with the possession of all that the Mayo College has taught them and stands for, should strive to fit themselves to play the important part in the future development of their motherland for which their days here have prepared them. They have inherited a tradition of loyalty in thought, word and deed to His Majesty the King-Emperor. They have learnt a high standard of character and conduct and it now remains for them to take to their homes from these cloisters the lessons of truth and uprightness and to carry them into effect in their dealings with others with whom they are brought in contact.

26th January 1923.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MAYO COLLEGE OLD BOYS' ASSOCIATION.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Address of Welcome presented to him by the Mayo College Old Boys' Association :—

Rajkumar Umed Singh,—I am very glad to have this opportunity of meeting the Old Boys of the Mayo College, and I thank you for the welcome you have given to Lady Reading and myself. Your Association is, I am assured, performing work of great value in preserving the traditions of your old School and in keeping alive the *esprit de corps* and affection with which every old boy should regard the institution where he was educated. Much of the pride and love with which every Englishman regards his old School is preserved by his association with others who were his fellow students in days gone by, and I am sure that the same pride and affection animate you old boys of the Mayo College. It is for you to keep a jealous guard on the spirit and tone of your old College, to maintain high standards and keep its good name unsullied. Your unfailing interest will help to secure that no alloy creeps into the pure gold which should be minted here; that every coin, which goes out, is true to the old mould, shining and pure, ringing true. The practical sympathy and support of the Old Boys is also a valuable asset to the College itself and its administration.

I thank you warmly for your address and for the beautiful casket which you have presented to me and I wish your Association all success in the future.

27th January 1923.

INVESTITURE OF HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF JODHPUR.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Darbar held in connection with the Investiture of His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur at Jodhpur on the 27th January :—

Your Highness,—It gives me great pleasure to be present here to-day to invest the Maharaja of Jodhpur with Ruling Powers,

Investiture of His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

because I am afforded an opportunity not only of showing my personal interest in the young Prince whose name, if I may say so, is full of happy augury for the future, but also of making my acquaintance with the Jodhpur State.

His Highness succeeded to the Gaddi at the age of 15 a little more than four years ago and during his minority the administration of the State has been conducted by a Council of Regency under the Presidency of His Highness the late Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh, who returned from France to place his services once more at the disposal of the Jodhpur State. He occupied the position of Maharaja-Regent till the day of his death on September the 4th, 1922. Though called in the closing years of his life to conduct once again for the third time the administration of the Jodhpur State during the minority of a Ruling Prince, he brought to his task the same indomitable energy, the same masterful personality which had characterised him throughout his active connection with the Government of Marwar—a period extending with brief interruptions over sixty years. Throughout his life he was never surpassed in loyalty and devotion to the Crown and he enjoyed the privilege of the esteem and friendship of our King-Emperor. We all, I know, feel the deepest regret that death has robbed him of the joy of seeing his labours crowned by the ceremony of to-day.

Time alone can show the extent of the debt which the State owes to the late Maharaja-Regent. In his youth the State lacked organised administration. Communications were almost non-existent. Considerable tracts were in a condition of disorder. Dacoity was common and there was no disciplined force to uphold the law and protect property. Now peace

Investiture of His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

and order reigns, the State possesses an extensive and profitable railway system, efficient courts of justice, a revenue amounting to a crore of rupees, public buildings and irrigation tanks, a disciplined military force, which has won renown on active service, and an administration which can challenge comparison with any State in Rajputana. Much of this remarkable change was due to Sir Pratap's energy and initiative. Above all by his simple habits of life and soldierly qualities and fearlessness he has left to Jodhpur and to all Rajputs a memory and an example which can never be forgotten.

Had Sir Pratap lived to the termination of the minority, he would have been the first to acknowledge the able assistance which he had received from the members of the Regency Council. Where all have done excellent service, it is perhaps invidious to mention any single member, but special praise is due to Pandit Sir Sukhdeo Prashad on whom in recognition of his long and valuable services to the State the honour of Knighthood has recently been conferred, and to Mr. D. L. Drake Brockman, I.C.S., who has worked with untiring zeal in reorganising the Departments entrusted to his care.

The period of the Regency has been marked by a series of lean years due to insufficient rainfall, and owing to trade depression considerable decline has resulted in the gross receipts of the Jodhpur-Bikaner Railway, one of the main sources of the State income, while working expenses and establishment charges have increased. Despite these adverse conditions the finances of the State are in a very satisfactory condition. The revenue has risen from about 89 lakhs to one crore of rupees. After defraying debts amounting to 35 lakhs

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approximately and providing a sum of no less than 70 lakhs for capital outlay on the railway, it has been possible by the exercise of strict economy to add 31 lakhs to the State Reserve Fund, which now amounts to nearly 2½ crores.

A revision of the Land Revenue Settlement made in 1884 which was long overdue has been taken in hand under expert supervision and should be completed by 1924. The State is still without any settled revenue and rent regulations or Revenue Courts, and it is to be hoped that in the interests of the cultivating classes this defect in the administration will soon be remedied. Other agrarian problems too call urgently for attention and their reform will tend to retaining the agricultural population in contentment on the land.

Your Highness' State has in its railway system an important asset and I am glad to learn that the improvement of the railway administration has had the close attention of the Council of Regency.

Considerable progress has been effected in the efficiency of the Police force under the supervision of Mr. M. R. Kothawala. Only last September a brilliant exploit in Mallani ended in the destruction of a dangerous party belonging to a gang which has long been committing depredations in Baroda and other States and districts in the Bombay Presidency.

The Jodhpur Imperial Service Lancers saw active service in France and Palestine for five years and returned to Jodhpur in 1919. They rendered most eminent service during the war. I need not add to the commendation which has often so deservedly been passed on their exploits. This great tradition of loyalty and service is to be continued ; for the Durbar

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has now agreed, in accordance with the scheme for the reorganisation of the State Forces approved by Government, to maintain a regiment of Cavalry and one battalion of Infantry fit for active service.

Education is still backward and though expenditure on this object has been increased by nearly a lakh, it remains disproportionate to the total revenues. Your Highness may wisely direct special attention to the improvement of this branch of the administration, for a State cannot progress without education, and better educational facilities must be provided if the Durbar's laudable desire to fill the posts in the administration with Jodhpur subjects is to be satisfied.

In the Public Works Department the Council have wisely refrained from undertaking any ambitious scheme during the Regency owing to the excessive cost of labour and material.

Your Highness, I do not wish to enter into further details, but I have said enough to show that the interests of your State have been carefully guarded during your minority, and that you succeed to a fair and prosperous heritage. You yourself have had the advantage of being under the guardianship of an experienced tutor in Mr. C. W. Waddington and for the past year you have been receiving administrative training in Jodhpur. I am particularly gratified to learn that you have taken a keen and intelligent interest in State affairs and realise the responsibilities that lie before you. You commence your rule to-day with every hope and promise for the future. The foundations have been well and truly laid. And it now remains for Your Highness to build up your administration on those foundations in a manner worthy of the high traditions which you have inherited.

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The business of Government is more difficult and complex to-day than it has ever been. There has been a change in the world since the Great War. Old ideals have been disturbed. Old methods have been criticised. This unsettlement of ideas has its influence for good ; but a period of transition and change inevitably brings difficulties to the task of the administrator. People are no longer content with the same standards which satisfied their forefathers and your Sardars and people will expect to share in the moral and material advancements of the present day. You will not desire nor can you expect your State to remain aloof and unaffected by the march of events. Seek then to understand and to look with sympathy upon new hopes and aspirations. Difficult problems will arise, but they will lose half their difficulty, if you meet them with courage, and at the same time with prudence and insight. And you need have no fear for the future if you try to govern with a single eye to the well-being of your subjects, and above all with justice and sympathy.

I am here to-day to invest you with Ruling Powers, because I feel assured that you will be true to the great trust which is your heritage. I myself and my Agent in Rajputana will always be ready to help you with advice, and you will be able to turn in times of trouble or difficulty to one of my trusted and experienced officers in Mr. Reynolds. He was specially selected by Lord Chelmsford to be Resident at Jodhpur during your minority and I am glad to have this opportunity of expressing in public my appreciation of the wise and tactful manner in which he has performed the duties of his important and responsible post.

Banquet at Jodhpur.

You are called to-day to assume the reins of Government in a State which has a great and glorious past. The burden is heavy and the responsibilities are great. It is my earnest prayer that you will so discharge your high duties that your rule may bring the fullest meed of prosperity and contentment to your subjects and the highest honour to yourself.

I declare Your Highness to be invested with full powers.

27th January 1923.

BANQUET AT JODHPUR.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur gave a Banquet in honour of Their Excellencies' visit to the State, and in proposing the health of his host His Excellency the Viceroy said:—

Your Highness,—I thank you most heartily for the very kind words in which you have proposed the health of Her Excellency and myself and for the warmth of the welcome with which you have received us on our first visit to Jodhpur. Nothing would have given us greater pleasure than to have prolonged our visit to a State of which we have heard so much if it had been possible and I hope in the future to have an opportunity of accepting the invitation which Your Highness has so kindly extended.

There are many objects of interest in Jodhpur which arrest my attention. I hope to pay to-morrow a brief visit to the Fort which dominates your capital city. It brings to me compelling memories of old times and glorious history. I would be deeply interested to see all Your Highness' local institutions. The short time at my disposal, however will

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not permit me on this occasion to do so ; but I am solaced by the thought that when I eventually pay them a visit, as I hope, Your Highness will have had time to leave your own mark on their character and efficiency.

I have heard with interest of the town-planning scheme, to which Your Highness is devoting keen attention, and of your laudable desire to expand the amenities of your capital city. With the possible advent of a broad gauge railway station in the future, the improvement of communications and the siting of new urban extensions have become matters which call for the utmost skill and care.

I am aware that Your Highness has taken a keen interest in the efficiency of your troops and I regret that I have not had time during my present visit to see on parade your fine regiment of cavalry which earned for itself undying honour and glory in the Great War and so fully maintained the martial reputation of the Rathors.

I am tempted to dwell for a moment on the happy auguries leading up to, and culminating in, the important ceremony in which we have taken part to-day. In the first place I wish to refer to what I have heard on all sides of the very willing manner in which Your Highness has worked to fit yourself for your high responsibilities. I am informed that you have devoted yourself to your work in the most praiseworthy manner and have been quick to take sound advice and have won golden opinions from all who came in contact with you. This is indeed of happy augury. The year before your accession to rule, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Heir-Apparent of the British Throne, paid a visit to Jodhpur and

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was, as I heard from his own royal lips, delighted with his visit to Your Highness' State and his first introduction to the Rathors. This too is of happy augury. Polo is a pastime ; but it is in particular a Jodhpur pastime ; and I cannot therefore omit from my list of happy auguries the success of the Jodhpur team in the polo tournament at Delhi when they won their victory after a brilliant game under the eye of His Royal Highness. Finally, Your Highness, the year of your accession has been a prosperous one for Marwar and you enter upon your administration with a happy peasantry basking among gifts from nature's cornucopia.

Your Highness, all our thoughts to-night are concentrated on you. Your hand to-day has been set on the helm of your State. You have entered in your course as a ruler. It is a very happy occasion for Jodhpur. It is a very important event both in Your Highness' life and in the history of your State. The more we reflect on it the greater the appeal this occasion makes to our imagination.

We look back on the great history of the Rathors—the stock from which you spring—on their exploits both in the Deccan and in Rajputana and on the mark they have made in the annals of India. We recall the noble traditions of chivalry and manliness which it has been their pride through the centuries to perpetuate and maintain. We have present in our minds their long and honourable connection with the British Government—a history of unswerving fidelity to engagements, proved not in word only but by high sacrifice in War. All this is your heritage. It is a proud moment now you stand acclaimed as the head and ruler of the Rathors of Jodhpur State.

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Further our thoughts turn to the important State which Your Highness has been called to administer. We survey the vast field awaiting your labour. What infinite scope for development and progress is seen here! What noble and beneficent work lies ready at your hand for execution! We think of the great population over whom you will rule. We reflect—and it is a solemn thought—that your acts will affect the destinies of thousands upon thousands in Jodhpur State to-day and of generations yet unborn. By your wisdom and sympathy, peace and prosperity, contentment and progress may be their lot. Bound to them by the old traditions of their loyalty to your house and stock, it is within your grasp to secure and keep that most priceless possession—the love and reverence of your grateful subjects.

And this is why, Your Highness, our thoughts are with you to-day. This is why this is an occasion of rejoicing. This is why all our wishes and hopes follow you—the inheritor of a great past and position and, we trust, the sponsor of a great future for Jodhpur.

These high hopes we know that one in particular had for Your Highness whose absence to-night we all deplore. For Sir Pratap's place is vacant to-night for the first time for many years at a Jodhpur State Banquet. That energy, which for the span of almost a human generation has been directed in the interests of the administration of Jodhpur, has been stilled at last. We shall never hear again that terse but vivid phrase in which his thoughts took expression. We shall miss the candour and directness he brought to bear on all problems; but his striking courage, his manliness, his simplicity of life, and his tenacity of purpose remain with us as an example for

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ever, as an imperishable standard which won him a name passing far beyond the limits not only of this State and of Rajputana, but of India itself, which secured for him not only the esteem of those who knew him here in India but the friendship of successive heads and members of the British Royal Family. I rejoice that Your Highness has decided to erect in Jodhpur a tribute to the memory of this very gallant soldier and Prince.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I will ask you to join me in drinking long life, health, happiness and prosperity to our host the Maharaja of Jodhpur. May Jodhpur under his rule advance and flourish. May his rule bring blessings to his people and honour to himself.

*3rd February
1923.*

STATE BANQUET AT RAMPUR.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading accompanied by their staff paid a week-end visit to Rampur. His Highness the Nawab of Rampur gave a Banquet in honour of Their Excellencies' visit, and His Excellency the Viceroy in proposing the health of His Highness said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank Your Highness very cordially for the warm welcome which you have extended to Her Excellency and myself on the occasion of our first visit to Rampur and for the very kind expressions in which you have referred to us. The greeting we have received will long remain among our most pleasant memories. Your Highness' kind thoughtfulness has been exerted in every direction to provide for our comfort and entertainment; and

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in all the arrangements made by Your Highness for our visit, that personal touch of warm solicitude and interest has been manifest which is the keynote of true hospitality.

As the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor it has been a source of special pleasure to me to have been able to visit Your Highness amid your ancestral dignities. Your Highness, as one who has received special marks of His Majesty's esteem, needs no testimony to the regard in which Your Highness and your State is held ; but my visit will once more emphasize the fact that the British Government recognize that the Rampur State yields to none in its claim to stand in the first rank in its devotion to the British Crown.

The lapse of time and the changes which the years have brought have only strengthened those ties of mutual trust and regard which subsist between the British Government and Your Highness' House and State. Under our protection and with our support the Rampur State has developed and prospered in peace, while in times of need the British Government has been able to rely without question on the fidelity and military traditions of the Rohillas. Nearly a century and a half have passed since your distinguished predecessor offered his famous cavalry to the British to fight in their battles with the French now our allies. The steadfast assistance which Your Highness' great grand-father rendered to the British Government in the anxious days of the Indian Mutiny is treasured in our annals. The same tradition has been handed on. The Rampur troops were placed at the disposal of the Government for the Mohmand campaign ; and in the great war the whole resources of the State were freely offered to the British Government. I need not relate in detail the many directions

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in which Your Highness' offer took practical expression ; but I cannot pass over without special commendation the splendid exploits of Your Highness' Imperial Service Troops in East Africa and the distinction which their services in that campaign won for them.

Nor has Your Highness' support and help been forthcoming in times of war only. Peace has its special problems ; and the difficulties which confront the administration in internal affairs have their peculiar perplexities and dangers. As an enlightened and experienced Moslem ruler and as the head of the Rohillas, my predecessors and the heads of the local administration of the United Provinces have often turned to you for advice and sought your co-operation. In 1910, standing where I now stand, Lord Minto acknowledged the great debt which the Government of India owed to Your Highness for your steadfast loyalty and co-operation in the difficult times confronting his Government ; and I note that only last year Sir Harcourt Butler, just before laying down his office as Governor of the United Provinces and after a long connection in various capacities with this State and those provinces, paid a notable tribute to the great value of Your Highness' advice and help and your unstinted support in the difficult situations with which he had been faced in his long experience of the administration in this part of India.

It is for this reason that I particularly welcome Your Highness' understanding appreciation of the difficulties of my task as Viceroy and Governor-General of India and that I specially value Your Highness' expressions of gratitude and confidence. I am, as Your Highness has observed, profoundly sensible of the position occupied in the Commonwealth of India by the Indian States and their Rulers. I hold the obligations of my

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Government to them sacred and look to them on their part not only for that assistance in times of external dangers which Your Highness has rendered without stint, but also for continuous co-operation in the great task which lies before administration in India—the advancement of India and her people, her steady and peaceful progress to higher planes of material and moral well-being, and her eventual attainment of a high place, worthy of her great population and ancient civilization, in the Empire and the World. I need not dwell any longer on these aims because I know that Your Highness shares them and that my Government can rely on the House of Rampur to strive to bring them to fruition.

Before I close, I desire to express my gratitude to Your Highness for your appreciation of my efforts as Viceroy and the efforts of my Government to assist in the attainment of peace in the Near East. It has been my aim to keep myself continually informed of the sentiments and reasonable aspirations of Indian Moslems in regard to a settlement with Turkey and to bring their views to the notice of His Majesty's Government. In the lengthy negotiations, which have taken place, it will have been observed that most of the points, which Indian Moslem opinion considered essential, have been embodied in the terms under discussion with Turkey; and no one can have failed to remark the great patience and earnestness which Lord Curzon has displayed throughout these difficult negotiations and the sincere desire to secure peace which has animated his efforts throughout.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking to the health and long life of our illustrious host, His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, and to prosperity of his State and people.

5th February 1923.

OPENING OF THE THIRD SESSION OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES AT DELHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy inaugurated the Third Session of the Chamber of Princes (Narendra Mandal) on the 5th February with the following address :—

Your Highnesses,—I am glad to welcome here to-day such a large assemblage of Princes for the 3rd Session of the Chamber. It is with particular pleasure that I note a great increase in the number of Princes from Central India who are present on this occasion, and I hope that those who are not, may yet be persuaded by their brother Princes of the inadvisability of remaining aloof from the Sessions of the Chamber. The Chamber is an institution which already exercises an influence on the interests of your order, and may do so to an even more marked degree in the future, but its policy will be guided by those who attend its meetings and not by those who stay away. The attendance to-day is evidence that you realize this and many of Your Highnesses have come from long distances and at considerable personal inconvenience to yourselves. That is a proof that you consider these discomforts and inconveniences to be outweighed by the advantages which you derive from taking part in the deliberations of the Chamber.

During the 15 months that have elapsed since our last meeting, the hand of death has been busy among the members of your order and no less than nine members and Representative Members of the Chamber have passed away, including some of its staunchest supporters. Those who are no longer with us are Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Kolhapur, Jaipur, and Cooch Behar, His Highness Sir Pertab Singh, Regent of Jodhpur, His Highness the Nawab of Janjira, the

Opening of the Third Session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

Nawab of Banganapalle, the Thakur Sahib of Morvi, the Jagirdar of Alipura and the Chief of Bastar. I feel sure that Your Highnesses will wish to record the sympathy of the Chamber with the bereaved families. The successors of several of the deceased rulers are minors, but it is a great satisfaction to us to welcome to-day the Maharaja of Kolhapur, the Nawab of Banganapalle and the Jagirdar of Alipura, and we trust that they will display the same interest as their predecessors in the proceedings of the Chamber.

When we last met the country was expecting the arrival of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. His Indian tour is now a matter of history which will not fail to record the remarkable demonstrations of loyalty and devotion to the King-Emperor and the Prince that characterised His Royal Highness' reception by the Princes of India and their subjects. Your Highnesses are in a position to judge of the value of such visits from the point of view of the units which make up the Empire, and have no doubt what your verdict has been. His Royal Highness has carried away with him memories of princely hospitality, of valuable knowledge gained and new friendships made. He has left behind him memories of an original and charming personality of a desire to understand, and of readiness to sympathise. And memories like those are an asset of Empire.

Among the items of the agenda is a proposal that a uniform date should be fixed for the Sessions of the Chamber. It will possibly not be easy to find a date which is convenient to all, but there are obvious advantages in having our meetings at the same time every year, so that members may be enabled to make their arrangements in advance.

Opening of the Third Session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

It is one of my aims that before the conclusion of my Vice-royalty this Chamber may be firmly established with an assured career of usefulness before it. But there are some essential preliminaries to be attained before the Chamber can look forward with confidence to a long and healthy life which will be continuously helpful both to the Princes and to the Government of India. Among these essentials is an adequate attendance of members. It is also clear that if the Chamber is to fulfil its purpose, the varying interests of all the Ruling Princes and Chiefs should, as far as possible, be adequately represented. I have already referred to this subject, but it is clear that resolutions assume greater importance when they result from the deliberations of a numerous and representative body.

At our last Session I touched very briefly on the appointment of the Fiscal Commission and said that the matter was one of joint concern to both British India and the Indian States. Since that time the Commission has concluded its labours and submitted a report which is now under the consideration of my Government. Your Highnesses will not expect me to make any pronouncement on Government's policy in this place. There is nothing in the conclusions at which my Government have arrived to prevent the fullest consideration being given to any proposals Your Highnesses may have to make. I notice that a resolution on this subject is down in the agenda under His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior's name, and I shall look forward with interest to hearing the discussion on that resolution. All I can say now is that we shall not fail to have regard to the interests of the States and to the effect upon them of the Government conclusions on the recommendations of the Commission.

Opening of the Third Session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

I have been looking forward to hearing the reports of Their Highnesses the Maharao of Cutch and the Maharaja of Nawanagar on their work as Representatives of India at the Imperial Conference and the meetings of the League of Nations. Your Highnesses will remember the great interest with which we received a similar statement at the last Session from His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib and I am sure that I am expressing the feelings of us all in regretting the inability of His Highness to be present to-day. The work of these two distinguished Princes is a reminder of the value attributed to Your Highnesses' advice in the Councils of the Empire.

The Resolution which stands in the name of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar in connection with the Indian States (Protection against Disaffection) Act is of considerable import. I do not wish to dwell on the controversy which this Bill aroused. My action was dictated by the simple duty of fulfilling the solemn pledges which had been given, but the opposition to the Bill is a matter of common knowledge and it has not yet altogether died down. And though the Bill, if it receives the Royal Assent, will afford protection to Your Highnesses against malicious and calumnious attacks, there is always "the fierce light which beats upon the throne" and eager eyes will be watching to seize upon any opportunity of criticising the administration in Indian States. The value of good and honest criticism is universally acknowledged and needs no further discussion in this Chamber. In the articles written from time to time there assuredly will be found suggestions worthy of your attention. From the observations made by some of Your Highnesses during the discussion upon this subject at the last meeting of this Chamber it is obvious that

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you would not only not object to criticism of this character, but would take advantage of it when it commended itself to your judgment.

It has been the source of great gratification to myself and my Government that the Indian States have made such a splendid response to the invitation to join in the scheme for the reorganisation of State troops. No less than 30 States have joined already, and I anticipate a considerable increase to this number at no distant date. It has, I know, been a cause of disappointment to many of you, that there has been some delay in issuing arms for the reorganised troops to those States who are ready to receive them. This delay has not been due to any want of diligence or procrastination on the part of those responsible but to certain unforeseen difficulties. These difficulties have, I am glad to say, been successfully surmounted and it is hoped the issue of rifles will be commenced with very little further delay. Though I hope the day may be far distant, I know that Your Highnesses will respond as ever to the call of duty, if it comes, and I am confident that should your troops be called upon to fight side by side with the Imperial Forces, they will once more be found to be an asset of real value. The Government of India have, as Your Highnesses are aware, recently established at Dehra Dun a military school, named after His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, for the education of boys who intend to go to Sandhurst. It has been found possible to enlarge the school and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has offered six vacancies next April to boys from Indian States. Preference has been given to the States which maintain the largest number of troops and I have little doubt that all the vacancies offered

Opening of the Third Session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

will be filled. I should explain that in the case of candidates from the States there is no obligation that the boys should go to Sandhurst at the end of their school career.

Before we separate, it will fall to you to elect a Chancellor and a Standing Committee for the coming year. The outgoing officers are eligible for re-election if they desire to serve again ; but in any case I must pay a tribute to their labours on behalf of the Chamber during the past 15 months. His Highness of Bikaner has again had to bear the brunt of the work, and he has discharged his duties with his customary energy and efficiency. Much to every one's regret he found it necessary to leave India for a few months for reasons of health and during that period His Highness of Gwalior kindly consented to carry on his duties. The Standing Committee has had one session of six meetings and portions of the result of their labours are before you in the agenda. There are, I understand, certain other difficult subjects which occupied a considerable part of their time, but which have not yet reached the stage for submission to the Chamber.

I cannot close my address without expressing the great pleasure it has been to myself and Her Excellency to have had the opportunity of visiting some of the States this cold weather and of making the acquaintance of their Rulers in their own homes, and enjoying their boundless hospitality. These visits are not only the source of great enjoyment ; they enable me to become better acquainted with your problems and special conditions, they serve to strengthen the strong conviction I held of the great importance of the Indian States as Members of the Indian Polity, both individually and collectively, and they are also, I trust not without value in bringing Your

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Highnesses closer to the Viceroy. I deeply prize these individual visits ; but the annual meetings of this Chamber have another value altogether which varies in kind rather than in degree. For they enable me as head of the Government of India to obtain a better appreciation of the general points of view of the Princes of India. I know the hopes many of Your Highnesses have entertained for the future of this Chamber, hopes which I share with you and hold as dear as you. Together we look forward to an assembly in which the Rulers of the States will take an ever livelier and more active interest, where subjects of primary importance and concern to the States as a whole or to the States and British India will be examined and discussed, where the Princes of India can freely and fully state their views and advance measures which make for the progress and well-being of their States and people. Thus they will assist in the onward march of a consolidated India to the great place that awaits her in the Councils of Empire and in those Assemblies which tend to shape the destinies of mankind.

17th Feb-
ruary 1923.

OPENING OF THE BHOPAL HIGH COURT.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading accompanied by their staff paid a brief visit to Bhopal. His Excellency the Viceroy opened the High Court at Bhopal on the 17th February and delivered the following speech :—

Your Highness, Chief Justice, and Members of the Bench and Bar,—I thank you for your welcome to me to-day. I am glad to have the opportunity of taking part in inaugurating the Bhopal High Court constituted by Your Highness, in pursuance of the enlightened views you have taken of your responsibilities as a Ruler.

Opening of the Bhopal High Court.

I must thank you, Chief Justice, for the words of gracious courtesy you have spoken, and for your complimentary observations. I need scarcely tell you that it gives me special pleasure to be present here to-day, to take part in a ceremony connected with the administration of justice. Although I have left that sphere and am no longer administering justice on the basis of the strict rule of the law, I still perform the supreme duty of acting with justice in British India as the representative of the King-Emperor.

Perhaps these duties are more difficult to perform than those of a judge who has his books to consult, and the benefit of decisions laid down by his predecessors and rulers of procedure or the provisions of statute or edict enabling him to state the law and guiding his action. But there are greater difficulties confronting a ruler who wishes to govern with justice and sympathy according to the dictates of his conscience and understanding.

I appreciate to the full the compliment Your Highness has paid to India and England in basing your new High Court upon their judicial system evolved after centuries of experience in England. Truly, an admirable example of Your Highness' eclectic wisdom and appreciation of the West, which has led Your Highness to gather the fruit, the good fruit, from the West and to plant it into the soil of the East, sown and tilled according to the needs of the East. Your Highness has shown your recognition of justice as the basis of administration and of good government. I was struck by the words the Chief Justice used, with which I cordially agree, that justice is the most powerful constitutional boon a Ruler can confer upon her subjects ; justice pure and impartial, justice administered in an independent spirit, free from the control of the administration, is justice according to the highest ideal.

Opening of the Bhopal High Court.

It rejoices my heart and it inspires my mind to know that Your Highness has constituted the High Court upon this foundation, enabling your Judges to pronounce their judgments with freedom, to speak without fear and without expectation of favour. Courts exist not merely to administer the law but rather for the administration of justice. The law supplies the Judges with scientific rules, the rock—foundations upon which the administration of justice should be constructed, that Judges may find sure guidance in deciding the cases that come before the Courts; and therefore, it is of importance that the pronouncement of the judicial bench should be lucid in exposition, so that those who have not devoted their lives to the law may learn it from the judgments to serve them for their guidance.

Justice demands freedom of opinion and absolute impartiality with no discrimination between the strong and the weak, between the rich and the poor, between the learned and the ignorant. The scales must be held equal, and must not be tipped either one side or the other, but must be held strictly equally balanced. Justice should be blind in the sense that it should not regard extraneous considerations and should keep its mind absolutely free and open; and it must nevertheless be many-eyed, for the devices, designs and artfulness of man are many and varied and call for perception, shrewdness and insight into human nature, for their disentanglement.

A Judge should regard sympathetically the trials and tribulations of the poor and strive to understand the fears and suspicions of the weak and the ignorant yet he must ever be careful that sympathy should not lead him to do injustice. The insight derived from his study of human frailties should be for the purpose of holding the balance fairly according to law, even as a ruler over the destinies of his people must seek

Opening of the Bhopal High Court.

to understand and view with sympathy in order that his sway may be beneficial to his people. The Bench should also remember that justice is never imperilled when it is judiciously tempered with mercy.

In addressing the Bench and Bar and the practising lawyers in this State, I am speaking to men who have followed the profession which has been mine for many years—a profession demanding a high standard of honour, with heavy responsibilities and onerous duties. It is a great profession. It requires the closest study and steady industry. No one can succeed in the practice of the law, who fails to appreciate the difficulties of others, or let me add, to realise the good as well as the bad impulses of man. The practising lawyer will discover that where human nature is bad it leads to evil and mischievous acts; he will often see its weaker side but he will also learn to appreciate its better and stronger aspects by devoting his attention closely to the complex problems of life. I trust he will learn, as I have learnt, that advocacy whether in law or otherwise, has its greatest success when appeal is made to the higher and loftier impulses of man and that it succeeds least when it panders to the baser and weaker sentiments.

With grateful thanks to Your Highness for having given me this opportunity of taking part in this ceremony, and with congratulations to Your Highness upon having instituted this High Court as a part of the reforms of an enlightened rule, for which Your Highness' administration has been conspicuous, may I express the hope and belief that this High Court of Bhopal will stand as a monument to the care and solicitude, to the wisdom and sagacity of a beneficent rule which has Your Highness at its head.

19th Feb-
ruary 1923.

BANQUET AT BHOPAL.

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal gave a banquet on the 19th February in honour of Their Excellencies' visit to her State. His Excellency the Viceroy in proposing the health of Her Highness the Begum said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Her Excellency and I thank Your Highness most warmly for the kind welcome which you have extended to us and the cordial terms in which you have proposed our health. We are deeply grateful to Your Highness for your princely hospitality. Your Highness has been untiring in thoughtful arrangement and has provided for our entertainment all that could interest and charm us. Circumstances beyond my control obliged me to defer my visit a few months ago : but the postponement of the visit has only served to enhance the pleasure now that it has become possible.

For these and other reasons we shall take away the most pleasant memories of our visit to Bhopal. Long after our departure fond recollections will bring us back to the beautiful capital which Your Highness and Your Highness' ancestors have established amid the undying glories of hill and foliage and lake.

But beautiful as Your Highness' capital is, this setting provides no more than a fitting back-ground for the romantic and picturesque history of this State in the past. My thoughts turn back to the two hundred years replete with moving incident and great adventure which have elapsed since the daring Dost Mahommed Khan founded this house and carved out this principality in Central India. My imagination is at once struck by the wonderful tale of fidelity to agreements and of devotion to duty which has characterized the rulers of Bhopal and the lady representatives of that Ruling line in particular. These qualities are constant and recur like a golden thread through the chequered pattern of the past. The story

Banquet at Bhopal.

is the same whether I turn to the brave deeds of Moti Begum, sister of the Nawab Hayat Mahommed Khan, fourth ruler of Bhopal, who held Islamnagar Fort at all risks against the enemies of the State in 1797, or in later times to the invaluable help afforded to the British in the difficult times of the Mutiny by Your Highness' grand-mother, Her Highness the Nawab Sikandar Begum.

It was of a piece with such great traditions that Your Highness at the outbreak of the Great War placed the whole resources of your State at the disposal of the British Crown, that your Heir-Apparent, Nawab Sahib Sir Mahommed Nasrullah Khan, volunteered his personal services at the front and that moral and material support of a most valuable kind was constantly tendered by Your Highness, Your Highness' family and your State to the British Government throughout that time of stress and anxiety. If I do not dwell longer on these services, it is because the thanks of His Majesty the King-Emperor have recently been communicated to Your Highness by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his recent visit to Bhopal, and I need not emphasize the esteem in which I personally hold these loyal services because Your Highness already knows of this. I value and prize most highly the assurance which Your Highness has given of the place which Your Highness assigns to loyalty to the Crown and service to the Empire.

I note Your Highness' appreciation of the necessity for better organization of the channels of communication between my Government and the Indian States. The question of closer relations, as Your Highness is aware, is engaging my consideration.

Banquet at Bhopal.

Your Highness has alluded to changes in the atmosphere of India—changes not peculiar to India, but occurring in all parts of the world as a result of evolution following recent events and of the age in which we live. These are times, as Your Highness observes, which call for the constant exercise of experienced guidance and wise statesmanship. I welcome the further opportunity which my present tour affords of studying at first hand the position and importance of the Indian States in the Indian body politic and of considering what developments the future may have in store for them. Amid the extensive changes which are now taking place in the social order and political life of the Indian continent, great bodies of the subjects of these States turn with implicit faith and traditional loyalty to their Rulers for help in their difficulties and for guidance in these new and shifting conditions. There is no more precious possession than this heritage of trust and attachment. Wise Rulers, like Your Highness, take steps to ensure that nothing is left undone on their part to cherish and retain it in these changing times. It is a source of pleasure to me to have observed on all sides during my stay in Your Highness' capital, evidence that this devotion is a living force in Bhopal and rests not only on traditional sentiments but on the firm basis of gratitude to Your Highness for your sincere and unwearied efforts for your people's welfare. I draw these conclusions from many signs and in particular from the public institutions which I have seen here, buildings that speak for the solicitude of your Government for education, hygienic reform, the relief of suffering and other beneficent activities. Your Highness has referred with feeling and eloquence to the foundations of constitutional Government which Your Highness laid under illustrious auspices at the time of His Royal Highness' visit. Though not extensive in scope at present, the foundations

Banquet at Bhopal.

have been well and truly laid ; and I know that advance will be made when conditions and the needs of your people call for a more elaborate edifice and for further progress ; and I look forward with confidence to the day when the completed structure will be the pride and security of those who dwell in its shelter. Meanwhile I am gratified to find that Your Highness is so ably supported in your reforms by your sons, all of whom are included in the new Council and to whose direct charge are committed some of the most important Departments of your Government.

Your Highness' tribute to me and my Government for our constant efforts to bring the reasonable aspirations of Indian Moslems on the Turkish peace question to the notice of His Majesty's Government and to keep them informed of Indian Moslem sentiments on this subject has deeply touched me. I value the appreciation of Your Highness the more highly as it comes from the Ruler of the second greatest Mahomedan State in India. I and my Government have sympathized with your co-religionists feelings through these difficult times and I trust that our desire for a settlement may be fulfilled.

On behalf of Her Excellency I thank Your Highness very warmly for your eloquent tribute to her efforts on behalf of the women of India. I know she values most highly this appreciation of her work by one who understands, who has laboured in this same field, who knows the difficulties and shares in all her fears or hopes. It is of great assistance to her to feel that she has in this work the sympathy of the only woman Ruler in India and of one who has done so much for the women of India herself.

Banquet at Kapurthala.

Once more I thank Your Highness very deeply for your kindness and hospitality. I will now ask Your Highness' guests to join me in drinking to the long life, health and prosperity to the Ruler of this State, Her Highness the Nawab Begum of Bhopal.

10th March
1923.

BANQUET AT KAPURTHALA.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala gave a Banquet in honour of Their Excellencies' visit to the State and in proposing the health of his host His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank Your Highness very cordially for the warm welcome which you have extended to Her Excellency and myself on the occasion of our first visit to Kapurthala and for the kind terms in which you have alluded to us in your speech. I know that we shall both take away very pleasant memories of our visit and of Your Highness' thoughtful hospitality. Your Highness has been untiring in securing that our visit should be replete with varied interest and enjoyment.

It was not only however on account of His Highness' proverbial hospitality and kind thoughtfulness towards his guests that I prized the opportunity of paying a visit to Kapurthala. I was also actuated by other weighty reasons in arriving at my decision to visit this State. In giving us a brief sketch of his life His Highness has modestly omitted to mention that he is the doyen of the Punjab Ruling Princes. Not only is he the oldest of the Ruling Princes of the Punjab in age, but he was called to occupy the gadi of this State more than 46 years ago

Banquet at Kapurthala.

and has exercised Ruling Powers since he came to his majority 33 years ago. I am glad to have this opportunity of congratulating His Highness on the general progress and advancement in his State during his long rule and on the enhanced prestige of the State and its ruler as the result of the wise interpretation of his responsibilities adopted by His Highness. During His Highness' rule the great tradition of the Indian States of staunch loyalty to the Crown and the Empire has been maintained with ever increasing strength. His Highness has continuously co-operated with the Government of India in all difficulties, internal or external, small or great, which have arisen and in which the assistance of the State has been sought. I need not dwell at length on the record of the State in the Great War as a notable tribute was paid to it by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Heir to the British Crown, in this hall only last year and I myself will specially deal with these achievements tomorrow at the ceremony of the inauguration of the Kapurthala War Memorial. After the close of the War His Highness' State was one of the first to adopt a scheme of great value from the Imperial point of view for the reorganization of the State forces involving additional expenditure for this State. In times of internal disorder and unrest in India the Kapurthala State has on more than one occasion assisted in the maintenance of law and order; and the firm but tactful measures adopted in the State have been of beneficial influence in the surrounding British districts also. I am gratified that cordial and intimate relations subsist between Your Highness and my Agent. It is a great pleasure to me to learn of the assistance in the administration given to Your Highness by your heir apparent and of the interest in State affairs which he and your other sons display. I congratulate Your Highness

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Kapurthala War Memorial.

on the prosperity which prevails in your State and on the contentment and loyalty of your subjects. These happy conditions, I feel sure, are due to Your Highness' wise guiding hand and to the care and energy which your sons and your Chief Minister devote to public affairs.

Before I close, I wish to offer to Your Highness my felicitations on the auspicious ceremonies which have recently been brought to a successful conclusion at Kapurthala. I express the hope that the marriage of Your Highness' daughter may be happy in every way. The event is of no common interest to the Punjab States as by this marriage the houses of two of the Ruling Salute Princes of the Punjab become united.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I will ask you to join me in drinking the health of our illustrious host, His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, and in wishing prosperity to the Kapurthala State and its people.

11th March
1923.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE KAPURTHALA
WAR MEMORIAL.

In performing the ceremony of the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Kapurthala War Memorial His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The ceremony which I am invited to perform today makes a special appeal to me. I deeply appreciate the thought which prompted Your Highness to erect this memorial so that in the years to come the people of Kapurthala may have constantly before them a lasting record of the splendid service of this State and its subjects in the Great War.

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Kapurthala War Memorial.

Before I lay the foundation stone, I will dwell for a moment on certain aspects of this memorial. In the first place I wish to pay a tribute to those brave soldiers of this State who at the word of their Maharaja went forth to lay down their lives, far from their homes in distant countries, fighting side by side with the forces of the King-Emperor in the cause of humanity. This monument will stand to remind those who come after, of their great service and sacrifice. When time has softened the poignancy of grief, it will be a source of pride to the families to which those brave men belonged ; and it will serve as an inspiration for all time to future generations in this State to cherish the priceless virtues of loyalty and courage which those men so nobly practised in their lives even to life's end.

Further this memorial has a special significance for Kapurthala ; for it marks the steadiest loyalty to the King-Emperor and the cause of the Empire which has been the keynote of His Highness' rule. Those of future generations who look on this memorial will recall that in a great crisis of the world's history, involving the interests of our Empire and calling for its intervention in a just cause, the Maharaja of Kapurthala spontaneously and without hesitation placed the services of his troops and the resources of his State at the disposal of the King-Emperor ; that during the prolonged operations which followed his subjects served with distinction in many fields with the armies of the Empire both in his State forces and in the ranks of the Indian Army ; that His Highness was untiring in his efforts in every direction to bring our cause to its successful issue and that his personal solicitude found an eager response in the enthusiasm of his subjects.

As the representative of the King-Emperor in India and as one intimately connected with the great part played by the Empire in the War I am gratified to be able to lay the

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Farewell Banquet to Lord Inchcape at Delhi.

foundation stone of this building which commemorates the supreme expression of fidelity to those ties which bind the Kapurthala State to the British Crown and the Empire.

20th March
1923.

FAREWELL BANQUET TO LORD INCHCAPE AT DELHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy entertained Lord Inchcape at a Farewell Banquet at Viceregal Lodge and made the following speech :—

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure you would not desire this occasion to pass without drinking the health of Lord Inchcape. From all appearance he does not stand in need of our good wishes ! and I am glad because there were moments when he was engaged in his laborious efforts and was devoting himself to his work with his accustomed zeal that I became rather apprehensive lest he should be imposing too great a strain upon his physical capacity. It is some few months ago that he arrived here ; and when he came he saw and he conquered. But unlike most conquerors of history, he departs leaving the fruits of his campaign behind him ; and fortunate indeed is he who is about to leave us that the responsibility is not upon him to apportion the fruits of his campaign or to adjust the conditions for the future.

We meet here to-night when the Budget is being discussed. It reminds me of a year ago when some similar conditions prevailed and when we were engaged under the tutelage of Sir Malcolm Hailey, the redoubtable champion of finance and of retrenchment who was adamant to all the demands that came for expenditure from the Treasury. We came to the conclusion—very much pressed by the Legislature—that we would appoint a Committee of business-men. We set about to find eminent and distinguished men whose view

Farewell Banquet to Lord Inchcape at Delhi.

would command respect and confidence in the country to form that Committee. We were fortunate in obtaining them and then we looked for our Chairman,—indeed, I am using a wrong word because we did not look, we saw him at once in Lord Inchcape if only the Secretary of State and I could prevail upon him to accept. I knew the difficulties ; I was aware of the manifold activities of a great commercial and shipping magnate, engaged in many operations and who was entitled, at his time of life (Lord Inchcape : “ Oh really ! ”) and with the services he had performed, to refuse. But I am minded by the interruption that came from him just now in defiance of all etiquette, prompted by that indomitable spirit within him, that he has many advantages over all of us because, as years advance with him as with the rest of us, he carries with him a constant spring of fresh outlook and youthful vigour ; and I wonder how it is managed. As I see him and think of all he represents the reason occurs to me. Of course he has the benefit of keeping whatever he likes in cold storage ! and he can draw upon his sources of supply whenever he chooses.

When we asked him—indeed, I think we did more than that, we begged of him—to undertake this duty, he responded to the call, he made his arrangements to set sail—and on one of his own ships he was ready to come to us in India and to help to make these very necessary great reductions. This is not a formal occasion and I shall not indulge in a financial retrospect of the situation or look forward to the future. There are duties devolving upon me which will give me quite enough occasion for thought without introducing them at this dinner. Moreover, I should be almost afraid with an *ex-Finance Member* on my right and the present Finance Member on my left. But when Lord Inchcape came and gave us the

Farewell Banquet to Lord Inchcape at Delhi.

benefit of the ripe wisdom of his knowledge and experience and devoted himself to a reduction of such expenditure as he thought might be restricted, he made up his mind—wise man as he is!—that he would do his utmost to carry Government with him, but yet he would not hesitate to recommend whatever reductions he thought necessary. Knowing that they would have to be made effective by Government he desired to secure the general approval of Government. In the great work he and his Committee have accomplished he has had the approval not only of Government but of the tax-payers of the country and of the general public. He has earned the gratitude of all in India for the labours he undertook and for the burdens he has carried during the last five months, for I know from Members of his Committee he did carry the main burden. He is the first always to acknowledge the assistance he received from the distinguished Members of his Committee and from all associated with him. He appeared to them like Atlas carrying our world of expenditure in India upon his shoulders and nothing moved him until his leg gave way. I am not surprised because after all the strain was great. Even in that condition he managed to produce the great volume which all of us for a very long time ahead will be engaged in studying. Permit me to add that throughout I had also in mind the great services that he had rendered and was rendering to the Imperial Government in England, both during the war and after the war. But true to his spirit and his devotion to public duty he came. After he had arrived at Delhi there was a curious effect generally to be observed; I noticed that even the tall men in the high boots of the Viceroy's Bodyguard seemed to have shrunk and that the Band did not seem to have as many instruments as before.

Farewell Banquet to Lord Inchcape at Delhi.

There was a pianissimo tone, each one wondering whether in the result it would be his turn to go or whether it would be his neighbour's when he would be sorry but would console himself by the reflection that it was for the good of India.

Now he is about to leave us, and I pass in rapid mental review the many occasions on which we have not only enjoyed his society but also that of Lady Inchcape and Miss MacKay. In addition to our debt to him for reducing our expenditure we have to thank him for Lady Inchcape and Miss MacKay's presence, for their gracious and charming presence which has made us enjoy their society and has added a glamour to his. It is a very good instance of the regret which is born of pleasure, for if we had not had so much pleasure in their society we should not have so much regret at their departure. I wish them all prosperity in the future. One word before I give you the toast. I desire to say—taking this opportunity on behalf of myself and my Government—that we are much indebted to all engaged in the work of the Government of India for the assistance they have given in arriving at conclusions, for the material they have prepared to lay before Lord Inchcape and his Committee. I know as a Government we have disclosed everything, we have kept back nothing and with all associated with us have combined in co-operation with Lord Inchcape's Committee to arrive at a result of inestimable importance and benefit not only to the India of the moment but also to the India of the future. We should remember that it is not only in this particular year or a succeeding year that we shall benefit by the operations of Lord Inchcape and his Committee. They have done notable work in striving to make the foundations stable and secure. They have shown us the way, and it is not their fault that all these reductions

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cannot be brought into operation at once. I know that on his departure Lord Inchcape will carry with him the good-will of us all and of the public in India for the efforts he has made. I give you the health of Lord Inchcape, and wish him many years of life and health and happiness to enjoy them.

26th March 1923. FIRST CONVOCATION OF THE DELHI UNIVERSITY ON MARCH 26TH, 1923.

His Excellency the Viceroy while presiding over the First Convocation of the Delhi University made the following speech :—

Gentlemen,—This is the first Convocation of the Delhi University; and the Governor-General, as the statutory Chancellor of the University and President of the Court, presides for the first time at this function. I am glad that it has fallen to my lot to attend in an official capacity this inaugural Convocation of a University for whose future we all hold a high measure of hope and expectation.

Before I pass to other matters, I wish to pay a tribute to those whose efforts I know you have in mind to-day—to those whose care and labour have made it possible to hold this Convocation. First, I must congratulate the Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Shafi, who as Member of the Governor-General's Council in charge of the Department of Education launched the Delhi University Bill in the Legislature—the fifth successful measure of this nature while he was in charge of this portfolio—guided it through the difficulties of its passage and saw it safely anchored in the Harbour of the Statute Book at last as Act VIII of 1922—an Act to establish and incorporate a unitary teaching and

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residential University at Delhi. I need hardly say that a University, which owes its legal existence to his efforts, cordially welcomes him as one of its officers. The power to create having been obtained, it next became necessary to construct the machinery and set it working. This important duty has been discharged with the greatest energy and resource by the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Gour and the machine stands to-day fully equipped for working, in a state of high efficiency, with the engines oiled and throbbing to perform their functions. I congratulate him and all those who helped him in this important task. Before I leave the subject, I wish to add that, though he is no longer with us, we have not forgotten the labours of Sir Henry Sharp in connection with the University Bill. The provisions, by which we are governed and are to govern as a University body, owe much in their framing to his great experience and scrupulous care and the kind reception which the Legislature gave to the Bill was to no small extent due to the fervent advocacy and technical knowledge he brought to bear.

When the decision was made to transfer the headquarters of the Governor-General and the Government of India from Calcutta to Delhi, the establishment of a University at the Imperial Capital formed an integral portion of the scheme; and I think rightly: for in my opinion it is impossible to conceive of this Imperial Capital City of India without the necessary adornment and adjunct of a University. It would be difficult to imagine a Governor-General, a Member in charge of the portfolio of education and the Education Department of the Government of India exercising their ultimate responsibility for the moral and intellectual progress of the vast population of India in complete isolation from any visible and

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practical expression of the highest influence for intellectual and moral culture.

Quite apart from the special aspects of the case connected with the Imperial Capital, the Governor-General and the Government of India, there were other reasons of general cogency warranting the establishment of a University at this centre. In the North-West portion of India we had three provinces with a population numbering more than 30 millions and with only one University to serve them. It was apparent that the responsible authorities of University of the Punjab were faced with an almost insoluble problem in extending the blessings of higher education in an area and amid a population of this magnitude. Their special difficulties, it was anticipated, would in no small measure be lightened and overcome by the scheme for the establishment of a University at Delhi in the South-Eastern portion of this tract. In Delhi also four Colleges were already in existence. There was and still is reason to hope, though difficulties of finance may cause delay in fulfilment, that many institutions most valuable to Delhi as a centre of learning, research and culture would spring up in the new Capital. I refer to institutions such as Museums, Libraries, Central Research Institutes and the like. Already in the new Capital area Sir Aurel Stein's collection provides material to study the history and civilization of a dynasty which but for his intrepid spirit of travel and discovery would have remained a sealed book to the student.

No less inspiring are the older associations which surround us. In the vestiges of former Kingdoms and Empires we see at Delhi on all sides, there is priceless material for those who wish to learn of the past, of its art, its history, its literature and

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its civilization. If environment has indeed its alleged influence, the Delhi University should produce scholars. For around it are abundant signs of the scholarship of past ages ; and our students will walk in the cloisters where the feet of other scholars in other centuries have trod. History is there for the reading on the face of the country. From Kila Rai Prithora which holds the visible remains of the old Hindu Kingdoms and from the Asoka pillars, a chain of monuments of the successive Muhammadan dynasties leads us to the beginnings of British rule. The libraries of Humayun and Dara Shikoh still exist to remind us that literature was the pastime and pleasure of Emperors and of their sons ; the tomb of the Chisti Saint at Nizamuddin Aulia marks the honour which the past paid to great students of divinity and religious teachers. Nor is science unrepresented. In the centre of our new Capital the great gnomon and the periphery of Jai Singh's observatory rears its fantastic shape and records the progress attained by him in observing the movements of the planetary bodies in the hemispheres nearly 300 years ago.

We may also hope for much healthy stimulus at Delhi from communications with the learned men of other countries in the future. There is scarcely a traveller of distinction in the world on a visit to India who omits to make a sojourn at Delhi. It is here they hope to study the evolutions of the past and to examine the nerve centre of a new and changing India. I look forward to the day when they will find in our University a peaceful and congenial atmosphere of knowledge and friendly help that will enable them to progress with their particular subject of study ; and I know how much we may expect to gain from communion with them.

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I wish now to sound a note more personal to myself. From the shelves of my library a number of volumes look down on me styled "Convocation Addresses". They preserve for me and for my successors the history of a long connection of Governors-General with the Calcutta University. I welcome, and I know that my successors will welcome, the continuation of the opportunity which each succeeding Convocation of our new University here in the new Capital will give to appraise moral and intellectual development in India. The political expansion, the administrative development, the material well-being and progress of India are the daily concern of the Governor-General. His time is engaged in dealing with them. He has frequent occasions of reviewing achievement and of speaking or making pronouncements on these subjects. Moral and intellectual progress, however, is more subtle and is less insistent as part of his common round and daily task. But it is well to pause and think, as the Governor-General will and must, where India is tending in the moral and intellectual spheres. For without progress in this direction his efforts for the increasing material prosperity of the people of India and their more complete self-expression in the Government of the country must largely fail.

By statute, I, as Governor-General, am the head of this University, but by virtue of the honorary degree which you have conferred on me to-day, I am now in a more intimate and permanent way connected with this University. In the latter capacity I desire to express a hope. We shall welcome "Knowledge" with open arms when she comes to our portals. We shall lead her in and invite her to make her home in the temple we have prepared for her; but let us not make the mistake

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of forgetting her more bashful sister "Wisdom" who may linger outside unthought of, unless we seek for her. For knowledge and learning alone will not make the sum total that our alumni should take away with them at the close of their studies from the University of Delhi. We wish them to acquire wisdom and character which are concomitants in the old Universities of the pursuit of knowledge and learning. We would have them go out into India, not only adorned with learning and replete with knowledge, but possessing those less easily acquired and more intangible qualities of the cultured mind—good judgment, wise tolerance and strong character—which go to build the success of a nation and an Empire.

One more word. You know we are passing through difficult times financially. Do not be disheartened or discouraged if lack of funds prevents for a time in this University more rapid expansion and perfection on which you may have set your hearts. I am afraid that for some time to come Delhi University must be a poor University. You should not on that account lose confidence or enthusiasm for its future. Rapid growth is not necessarily the soundest form of growth; and eminence in academic study is not the monopoly of only the well-endowed and well-equipped Institutions. Have trust: and in spite of obstacles, persevere in your keen efforts for progress. Have courage and in spite of difficulties, determine to overcome them. Your success when attained will be the more meritorious. May your University flourish! Long may its success endure and may its fame enhance the glory of the historic City of Delhi!

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